

NOTE ON THE SIKH PLAN

FOREWORD

In the year 1947, between half a million and one million Muslims—men, women and children—were murdered in the Punjab and Kashmir State by Hindus and Sikhs. Some were murdered in Delhi and the other parts of India. Five million of those who escaped these genocidal massacres were chased out of their homes ; and dispossessed of their lands, their household goods, their ploughs and their cattle found refuge in Pakistan.

Most of this destruction took place in a few weeks. It was swift and widespread because it was planned. The manufacture and collection of arms had been going on for a long time. Two vast secret armies, the AKAL FAUJ of the Sikhs and the RSSS of the Hindus, had been organized for it. Many Hindu and Sikh political leaders were at the back of it. So were many Hindus and Sikhs among the officials, the police and the army. So were the rulers of Sikh States in the Punjab and the Maharaja of Kashmir.

This is one of a series of booklets describing the plan and how it was executed. The series consists of five such booklets. They are—

1. **NOTE ON THE SIKH PLAN**, an account of the secret preparations of the Sikhs.
2. **RSSS (Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh)**, or the activities of the secret terrorist Hindu organization in the Punjab.
3. **THE SIKHS IN ACTION**, showing the Sikh Plan in actual operation.
4. **TRIBAL REPERCUSSIONS**, or what led the tribal Pathan of the north-west frontier to come to the aid of the people of Kashmir.
5. **KASHMIR BEFORE ACCESSION**, showing why the people of Kashmir rebelled against the Maharaja's government, what he did to suppress them and why he acceded to India.

These accounts have been prepared from authentic records and from the statements of eye-witnesses. They are for the most part, purely factual. They contain no speculation and the minimum of comment.

NOTE ON THE SIKH PLAN

THIS account of Sikh preparations on military, terrorist and aggressive lines is reconstructed from official records. These records were filed during a period when the Government in power was either the Unionist Government in which Hindus and Sikhs participated, or was directly under the control of the Governor of the Province under section 93 of the Government of India Act. In neither of these Governments, did the Muslim League have any share. Indeed, the Muslim League was emphatically and vigorously opposed to either Government. The official machinery to which we owe the collation of these records and the collection of intelligence and information on which they are based was in no sense under the control of the Muslim League and in fact, in many cases was the target of their disapproval and protest. The possibility that the official machinery was inspired by, or biassed in favour of, the Muslim League, which is the party in power to-day in all parts of Pakistan, may therefore be reasonably ruled out.

The ultimate goal which the Sikhs had set before them, seems to have been the establishment of Sikh rule in the Punjab. Their preparations to this end were aimed directly and exclusively against the Muslims. Whether the Hindus who formed the

bigger minority in the Punjab, would ultimately have acquiesced in the fulfilment of Sikh ambitions at their expense, is doubtful ; but for the time being they made common cause with the Sikhs. The activities and preparation of the two, therefore, run parallel to each other and even where active conspiracy between them is not evident, the fact that they regarded the Muslims as their common enemy created a mutual disposition towards collaboration which virtually amounted to a conspiracy and led to concerted effort.

II

How far back in recent history lie the beginnings of the Sikh plot, it is perhaps not necessary to enquire but the aggressive and militant attitude of some of their leaders was sufficiently articulated by the beginning of the year 1947 to receive official notice, when they voiced in largely attended public meetings their determination to oppose the "British-Muslim League alliance" and "to oppose Pakistan tooth and nail." Already various schemes for dividing the Punjab were under discussion among the Akalis, with the object of establishing Sikh domination in a substantial part of the Punjab if not in the whole of the province. At the same time, the RSSS (the militant volunteer organisation of the Hindu Mahasabha) began to show signs of increased enthusiasm and bands of these volunteers held secret meetings in private houses and temples in the predominantly Hindu suburbs of Lahore and in a number of outside districts. Some of the secret meetings were addressed by workers from outside the Punjab, who toured the province to organise the RSSS and to step up recruitment. On January

8th a meeting of the RSSS was held in Tarn Taran in contravention of the Government ban, where the RSSS flag was hoisted and speeches were made. It is interesting to note that the ostensible purpose of the meeting was to commemorate Guru Gobind Singh's birthday (which is a Sikh festival), that the meeting was held in a Sikh school and that it was organised by leaders from Amritsar assisting the local leaders. "The RSSS membership", runs the Chief Secretary's report for the second half of January 1947, "increased by 1,000 during the month of December and now numbers about 47,000." Eight new branches were formed in Multan and Ambala districts. During the searches made when the RSSS was declared an unlawful organisation, 50 lathis were recovered at Rawalpindi, 77 axe-blades and 38 wooden handles at Hoshiarpur and documents "of some interest" at Karnal, Hissar and Amritsar. There is reason to believe that the RSSS knew that action was going to be taken against it and that if it had not been so, the recoveries would have been more interesting. The Sikh Students' Federation also became active. The General Committee of the All-India Sikh Students' Federation met in Amritsar on January 25th and 26th and both Giani Kartar Singh and Master Tara Singh made use of the occasion to further their own ends. The former wound up the proceedings by "reviewing the present political situation and by outlining the grounds on which the demand for a separate Sikh state is based" and the latter addressed a public diwan (1,000) and held that "unity between Hindus/Sikhs and Muslims was impossible" and that Sikhs should sink their internal differences and "prepare for the future struggle". On January 30th, Baldev Singh, Swaran Singh, Tara Singh, Kartar Singh and Udham Singh Nagoke attended a meeting of the Panthic Pritinidhi Board in Amritsar at which one of the main matters discussed was the question of setting up a Hindu-Sikh province in those districts of the Punjab where the Muslims are in a minority.

In February the idea of organising a private Sikh army was taken up in all earnestness. On the 12th of this month, in a statement issued by him, Master Tara Singh called on the Sikhs to prepare themselves to face what he described as "the Muslim League onslaught"—this referred to the Muslim League agitation against the Coalition Government—and "to re-organise the Akal Fauj, the Sikh volunteer organisation whose prowess in the Punjab has not been forgotten". The RSSS also renewed its activity throughout the Province, organisers both from the Punjab and from other provinces touring the province and organising new branches, and at a meeting held on February 4th two of the organisers told the volunteers that "the Muslims were their enemies and that Hindus must prepare themselves for a tough fight when the time came". They stated that "every member of the RSSS must be in possession of a sword and learn how to prepare acids in convenient form for use during communal trouble". The Shiromani Akali Dal propaganda party, consisting of Giani Kartar Singh, Amar Singh Dosanjh, Sumer Singh of Lyallpur and Giani Vir Singh of the Sikh Missionary College Amritsar began its tour at Rawalpindi and Gujar Khan. "The general theme of the speeches made was that with the British handing over power to Indians, the Sikhs can expect nothing from Congress or from the Muslim League, which is determined to establish Pakistan with the Punjab as its hub. Thus, if the Sikhs are to survive at all, they must unite under the Shiromani Akali Dal and rely on themselves for forging their future destiny. The history of the Sikhs was an example of the triumph of physical and moral courage over larger numbers and it was the duty of the present generation to emulate the deeds of their forebears."

Montgomery between February 8th and 17th. Militant speeches were made and exhortations that "Sikhs should be ready to do their duty and set the Muslim League right" and that "Sikhs must be prepared to offer every sacrifice in the fight against Pakistan" were commonly made by the speakers. Local Sikhs in Montgomery responded with an assurance that they would organise an Akal Saini at a very early date. Speeches containing similar appeals were made by Ishar Singh Majhail and Udham Singh Nagoke at an Akali Diwan in the Amritsar district and also by Jathedar Mohan Singh President of S.G.P.C. and by Ishar Singh Majhail at the Amavas Fair at Tarn Taran. The official report for this period ends with the observation that "there is no doubt that Akali leaders' speeches have aroused very considerable excitement in Sikh circles," and the Chief Secretary's fortnightly review states that "the Sikhs.....are continuing to advance their plans for the formation of the Akal Fauj or Saini," and that "in doing so, in public and in private, the Sikh leaders are making no secret of the fact that this Sikh army is being formed to fight Muslim League aggression." Ten Akali Diwans were held during the last week of February, of which the more important were the annual conference held at Bachhauri in Hoshiarpur district on February 22nd and 23rd and the meeting at Amritsar (4,000) on February 27th organised by the city and district Akali Jathas. Swaran Singh, Ishar Singh Majhail and Jathedar Mohan Singh, were the main speakers on the first occasion and Majhail and Mohan Singh made speeches emphasizing the need to organise themselves and enlist in the Akal Fauj. Master Tara Singh was the main speaker at Amritsar when he "repeated his fear that the latest British decision was very likely to result in civil war." His demand that the British should return the Punjab to the Sikhs, from whom they had received it on trust, and his call to the Sikhs to be prepared for offering sacrifices "in order to ensure

the safety of the Panth" were enthusiastically received by the audience. Another meeting was organised by the Upper Bari Doab Circle Canal Committee in the Amritsar district on February 26th and attended by 3,000 people. Although the ostensible purpose of the meeting was to demand more water for irrigation, the speakers including Ishar Singh Majhail and Udham Singh Nagoke appealed to the Sikhs "to prepare for the fight against Pakistan." Activity in connection with the re-organisation of the Akal Fauj continued with increasing vigour and by the end of February provincial appointments of Commander and Assistant Commander had been made in Lahore and Rawalpindi.

IV

The month of March saw the resignation of the Coalition (Unionist) Ministry, the outbreak of communal disturbances, continued organisation of Sikh militancy, a closer collaboration between Hindu and Sikh private armies, the cessation of all legitimate political activity and the substitution of underground military and terrorist activity in its place. The Chief Secretary's fortnightly review describes the Sikhs as without a "vestige of a wish to settle the communal problem without partition" and as "organising for strife." "Their plans," continues the review, "embrace the whole community in the Punjab and it is said that they also involve the Sikh States. The Sikhs are being regimented, they are being armed, if they are not armed already and they are being inflamed by propaganda both oral and written. With deliberate intent their hatred is being increased against the Muslims and their co-religionists."

vered were of an extremely violent and exciting nature. The audience at the main Akali conference varied from 4,000 to 15,000. Jathedar Mohan Singh presided and among the important speakers were three prominent members of the S.A. Dal. The audiences were told that the British in alliance with the Muslim League were out to crush the Hindus and Sikhs and establish Pakistan in the Punjab. Lurid pictures were painted of what the fate of the Sikhs would be under Muslim rule. Now that Master Tara Singh had given them a clear signal, all Sikhs were urged to show in no uncertain manner what their feelings were. They were told that they must depend on their swords to attain their rights, that they must stake their lives to prevent Pakistan and that they must fight to the last to establish Sikh rule in the Punjab. In addition to the public conference, a secret meeting of the Jathedars and other prominent Akalis was held at which instructions were drafted and approved for issue to Akal Regiments and Sikhs in general. A circular issued on the 13th March by Shiromani Akali Dal to Jathedars required all district branches to keep Akali jathas of 100 members ready to march on Lahore and Amritsar if called upon, to disseminate news in villages supplied by newspapers or the Shiromani Akali Dal, to maintain a 24 hour guard at local Shiromani Akali Dal offices and to take immediate steps to increase funds. This appeal received attention in the majority of districts; two regiments were formed in Sheikhupura, and re-organisation of Akali jathas and enlistment was reported from Garhshankar, Hoshiarpur district, Ambala, Rupar, Montgomery, Lyallpur, Gurdaspur, Ludhiana and Jullundur.

The diwans to celebrate the Amawas and a number of other diwans were held between March 13th and 18th, notably in Amritsar, Gurdaspur, Gujranwala, Ambala, Ludhiana and Lyallpur districts. On Amawas day, at a diwan held in Amritsar, speeches were made insisting on the strengthening

of jathabandi. At a diwan held in village Kurali (Ambala district), Darbara Singh Kalewal declaimed that the Sikhs had decided "to kill or be killed," that "they should carry unsheathed swords, kill their Muslim antagonists, avenge their martyrs' deaths and arm themselves with whatever weapons they could lay their hands on." Sardar Sarnukh Singh, M.L.A., appealed to the INA to join the Akal Sana, urged the necessity for gatka training in villages, preparations to kill Muslims and the organisation of jathas.

The President and the General Secretary of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha arrived in Lahore on March 22nd and met Hindus and Sikhs whom they advised to organise themselves and the students whom they advised to "prepare for war." "Vir Dals" were organised in Hissar, Bhiwani and Gurgaon, and Swami Sutantranand (President of the Arya Vir Dal) made plans for establishing a Training Camp at Narnaul (Patiala State) for instructors, as the Arya Pritinidhi Sabha required the Arya Vir Dal to raise membership to 500,000 of which 100,000 were to be enrolled in the current year. The RSSS activity recommenced in the majority of districts, enlistment and training were taken in hand in Lahore, Hoshiarpur, Ambala, Jagraon, Hissar, Karnal, Montgomery, Jullundur, D.G. Khan, Ludhiana, Lyallpur and Rawalpindi districts; and Lahore City Sangh workers got busy collecting funds and organising local Hindus on military lines.



The arming of Sikhs and the hysterical drive to enlist them in the service of the Sikh cause rose to a still

higher pitch in April. On Baisakhi Day (13th April) some two hundred and eighty Sikhs took the "suicide oath" at the Akal Takht and were called the Shahidi Jatha. "Many others", says the Chief Secretary's report, "would have taken the same oath if their going to Amritsar had not been prevented by the disturbances which were taking place in the city at that time." A new factor, the Nihang Sikhs, also came to the fore and conversion of Hindus to Sikhism and Sikhs to the Nihang sect which claims extra privileges in the matter of carrying arms on religious grounds, was increasingly reported. Members of this sect prided themselves on their militant reputation and in some places openly paraded their strength in order to demoralise the Muslims. Master Tara Singh returned to the Punjab bringing with him over 1½ lakhs of rupees collected by him in Calcutta and entrusted to his charge by Marwari business men, to be spent entirely at his discretion. Towards the end of March, a meeting of the majority of well-known Akalis and District Jathedars had been held in Amritsar to further Sikh plans and on the same day the Executive Committee of the SGPC had held a meeting presided over by Jathedar Mohan Singh, where it was resolved to buy transport for the Gurdawara Committees and enlist 400 Sikhs of the INA or demobbed soldiers for employment by the Darbar Sahib Committee. Giani Kartar Singh promised to make similar arrangements from funds of the Shiromani Akali Dal. The following day, Giani Kartar Singh had interviewed Jathedars representing notably the Malwa, Majha, Doaba, Gujranwala, Shahpur, Sialkot, Gujrat, Rawalpindi, Sargodha, Montgomery and Hissar areas. There were also 3 Jathedars from Kapurthala, Faridkot and Patiala States. The interviews were individual. Jathedars reported from each area the relative strength of Hindus and Sikhs and their opponents the Muslims. The majority gave encouraging reports. There

was a gener complaint that firearms were scarce, although "other weapons were easily procurable." The instructions given by Giani Kartar Singh left no doubt of Sikh intentions. An all-out effort was to be made to prepare the community in every way and action was to be completed without delay. Sikh students were to receive instructions before leaving Colleges on vacation. They were to convey Shiromani Akali Dal instructions to their villages. Jathas were to be raised in all Sikh villages, each Sikh householder being asked to give a son, or proportionally more, according to the number of male members of the family. Members of the Jathas, whether conscripts or volunteers, were to take an oath of absolute obedience to the orders of the Shiromani Akali Dal and must be ready to proceed anywhere when required.

The Akali High Command had no intention whatsoever of permitting the temper of the Sikhs to cool. Atrocity stories were spread assiduously. Enlistment increased rapidly and Akali propaganda was particularly noticeable in Amritsar and Lyallpur and to a lesser extent in Sialkot and Hoshiarpur districts where propaganda parties toured villages, collected funds, impressed on the Sikhs the necessity of retaining full-length kirpans and urged the re-organisation of the Akal Fauj. Printed and cyclostyled propaganda, some of it most objectionable in tone, increased. In Sialkot district money was collected in a joint Hindu-Sikh meeting for expenses for Nihang Sikhs. In Lyallpur district, where Akali propaganda was particularly strong, kirpans were passed to Akal Fauj volunteers. Some in the rural area armed themselves with spears and blacksmiths worked ferociously in the manner of arms. During one week 3 Hindu blacksmiths were caught making arms in Lyallpur. The kirpan factories which are now open in the rural areas were supplying 250 kirpans a day. The kirpans were supplied to the Akal Fauj.

planned to be opened at Phagwara (Kapurthala State) and Kot Kapura (Faridkot State).

Sixty representatives of the Sikh Students' Federation, mainly Presidents and General Secretaries of the various units in the Punjab, met (31st March) when decisions were reached for student workers to organise groups of villages, to instruct Sikh villagers to abstain from drinking and to equip themselves with long kirpans, a small kirpan, a spear and a torch to be hidden in safe places. It was also decided to use couriers, as censorship was thought to be strict, and to approach the SGPC to obtain motor vehicles for transport. First and third year students were to start work at once and others were to follow after the examinations. The Khalsa Colleges of Lyallpur and Amritsar were reported to have already commenced this programme.

During April, the RSSS achieved particular popularity in eastern Punjab. The Jullundur Beopar Mandal placed all its funds, Rs. 10,000, at the disposal of the local RSSS. Their activities in Dalhousie where they succeeded in enlisting the sympathy of the Hindus of the nearby Chamba State, caused nervousness to the local Muslims. An appreciable increase in recruitment was reported in Lyallpur district. In Jhang district, Hindu arms licence-holders handed their arms at night to Sangh members. 850 steel helmets were recovered by the Lahore City Police from the RSSS premises and action had to be taken against three Sirsa members who were advising Hindus to collect arms and to be prepared to fight the Muslims. The organisation of the Akal Fauj also proceeded smoothly: enlistment was particularly rapid in Hoshiarpur where members were provided with free kirpans.

The 280 Shahidi Jathedars headed by Master Tara Singh who took the suicide oath at the Akal Takht on Baisakhi day (13th April) included two Hindus and a woman. After taking

the oath, led by Master Tara Singh, Ishar Singh Majhail, Giain Kartar Singh and others, they marched in procession and afterwards attended a secret meeting for two hours in Teja Singh Hall, where atrocity stories were repeated, and the necessity for strong jathabandi, the immediate raising and training of Akal regiments, the collection of funds, etc., was stressed and emphasis was laid on propaganda for social boycott of Muslims throughout the province. The Baisakhi meetings at gurdawaras were used to collect money for the " Fifty-lakh Fund " inaugurated by Master Tara Singh to fight the anti-Pakistan campaign and Rs. 12,000 were collected in Lyallpur alone.

The conversion of Sikhs to Nihangs gained momentum. Five hundred Sikh youths were baptized at Kamoke and in the Gujranwala district and 250 in Bhikiwind area. Sikh propagandists were active in Kasur, Gurdaspur and Ludhiana, advocating conversion. Giani Rattan Singh converted 30 Hindus in Sheikhupura, to whom kirpans were then distributed. The SGPC was reported to issue 125 long kirpans weekly to Sikhs in Sialkot.

The Working Committee of the Shiromani Akali Dal met in Amritsar on the 16th April and under the presidentship of Giani Kartar Singh resolved to subject Muslims to extreme social boycott — to replace Muslim menials in the villages, to engage no Muslim lawyer or doctor, to give no alms to Muslim beggars, not to lease land to Muslim tenants, not to rent any shop or house to Muslims, not to purchase anything from a Muslim and not to engage any Muslim as a labourer. This meeting was followed by the collection of 200 Akali workers of Amritsar district on the 20th April in Amritsar City. Sohan Singh Jalal Usman who was the only speaker desired information to be provided him by the 27th April regarding up-to-date lists of members of Akal Regiments in their jurisdictions, the number of horses, cycles, kirpans and spears in each Sikh village of their jurisdiction and the collection of funds at the rate of a rupee

per head towards the Fifty-lakh Fund. The police records for this period state :

“ There is a belief among Muslims that large quantities of arms and ammunition have been procured by Sikhs of the Malwa, Doaba and Sikh States and that the States are manufacturing arms in large numbers which are being smuggled into the Punjab. The Hindu-Sikh Minority Protection Board of Sargodha has issued an appeal for the collection of 500 kirpans for refugees in Panja Sahib Refugee Camp. The desire to carry arms is general and probably explains the recent conversion of Hindus to Sikhism, the most recent report of which has been received from Ambala Cantonment, where the tendency has been resented by the Arya Samaj ”.

On the 26th April, Giani Kartar Singh addressed a meeting of 1,000 Akali workers in Lyallpur where he stressed the urgency of extreme propaganda, “ even by illegal radio, if necessary ”. The necessity for printed propaganda had by now been fully realised and Bhag Singh, Advocate of Gurdaspur, was selected as the head of the Akali Propaganda Department, assisted by Kartar Singh, Professor of English of the Sikh National College, Lahore.

There was no slackening in the Sikh resolve to be fully prepared. The demand for kirpans became particularly heavy, especially from Gurdaspur, Ludhiana and Jullundur districts to which the SGPC now reserved the greatest allocation. Local Akali leaders of the Doaba pursued the Shahidi Jatha campaign and set up secret units of trusted workers. In Jagraon (Ludhiana district), a Shahidi Jatha of three categories, the first for home defence, the second to fight elsewhere and the third, the “ Suicide Squad ”, to be prepared to go anywhere when called upon, was formed. Ambala Akali workers and jathas toured the town and required a rupee and a maund of wheat

from each house. A jatha of 50 Akalis was despatched to Gurdaspur district to supplement the "guards" on historical gurdawaras. Three propaganda parties from Faridkot State visited Muktsar, Moga and Jagraon tehsils to popularise their ruler.

The central focus of Sikh preparations was Amritsar city. On April 24th, Sohan Singh Jalal Usman collected 400 Hindu-Sikh city youths who were deputed the following day in batches of 25 near the Chauk Pragdas mosque in readiness for a conflict with the Muslims. A camera meeting of 400 Akali and other Sikhs of Amritsar district was held three days later which included 'Col.' Naranjan Singh (of INA), Sohan Singh Jalal Usman and Jathedar Udham Singh. Jathedar Udham Singh left his audience in no doubt about the militant programme of the Akalis and Sohan Singh Jalal Usman instructed his hearers to collect any kind of weapons, legal or illegal, replace old jathedars with young who will be prepared to fight, advised the formation of village panchayats in every village to handle ordinary disputes, the preparation of lists of youths ready to die for the Panth and to expedite subscriptions to Fifty-lakh Fund. A meeting the same day was held in the office of the SGPC in Amritsar attended by about 100 Hindu and Sikh women representatives from each mohalla at the invitation of two Sikh workers who instructed them to boycott Muslim shops, to give no money to Muslim beggars and to carry kirpans. Two committees were formed as the result, one to arrange a social boycott and the other for 'defensive' preparations.

VI

During the first week of May, the Working Committees of the SGPC and the Shiromani Akali Dal were held in Amritsar

at which these bodies devoted their attention mainly to the strengthening of guards on gurdawaras, means to improve Sikh mobility and communication and supply of kirpans and their allotment to areas standing in most need of them. In the districts, activity almost entirely centred on improving the organisation and strength of the Akal Fauj.

Orders were issued that Shahidi Jatha volunteers need no longer take the oath at the Akal Takht as they could be initiated at the local Singh Sabha gurdawaras. Sikh members of the INA showed an increasing tendency to link their fortunes with the Akalis. Capt. Mehr Singh of Jagraon offered his services to the Panth to organise the Sikhs and a move to incorporate INA men in village defence schemes had already been suggested at a meeting of local Sikhs (30th April) in Ferozepur. The meeting had decided to employ at least 4 paid members of the INA for whole-time work and to establish a regular office. Dara Singh—an INA man of Kangiwal—the office secretary of the Gurdawara Singh Sabha, Jullundur, made efforts to enlist *ex*-INA personnel in the Akal Fauj. Sikhs in Lyallpur district approached *ex*-military and *ex*-INA men for instruction in the preparation of bombs. Four 'cells' were set up in Jullundur district and 160 Sikhs in turn for each of the tehsils were ordered to be present every Friday in Jullundur city to protect gurdawaras. Two defence committees were formed in Hoshiarpur. A Nihang in charge of Gurdawara Banda Bahadurgarh undertook the training of local Sikh youths in gatka fighting. Jathedars and Akalis in Lyallpur district continued to tour villages and collect funds.

As the month progressed, Sikh preparations made considerable headway in Malwa, Doaba, Lyallpur, Sheikhpura, Gurdaspur and Kasur. "Dictators" were appointed in all tehsils of Ludhiana, Jullundur district was divided into 2 parts for organisational purposes, and "Company commanders"

nominated both in the Jullundur and Hoshiarpur districts. These "Commanders" had under them platoon commanders who, in turn, were in charge of secret 'cells' in the villages. Five trusted workers were decided to be appointed to each police jurisdiction and one in each village. Refugees were to be distributed in the villages to arouse antipathy against Muslims. Extensive tours were reported in the Jullundur and Hoshiarpur districts. In the former, secret 'cells' were established in 7 villages and jathedars elected. Jathas were reported to exist practically in every village of Lyallpur and Sheikhpura, the members of which were under an oath of explicit obedience to the Sikh High Command.

The Akalis were also bent on a drive to procure fire-arms. In Hoshiarpur district, it was decided to stop the usual propaganda tours and concentrate on securing arms. Efforts were made to obtain arms from Bikaner, Bilaspur and Nalagarh States. In the Kasur Sub-Division it came to notice that small factories had been established in gurdawaras and in villages for the manufacture of arms. A miniature factory for the preparation of arms was captured in village Bhuchoke (Kasur). The Moghulpura (Lahore) Police arrested 11 persons on the 10th May engaged in the manufacture of kirpans and spear-heads. Many important gurdawaras were reported to be in use as storage depots, which lent significance to the employment of *ex-military* and INA men for the 'protection' of Gurdawaras.

A plan was also forming to organise 'Durli Jathas.' A move in this respect was reported in Moga (Ferozepur) and in Gurdaspur district, where it was proposed to send 'Durli Jathas,' each 100 strong, and armed, on the order of the Akali High Command, to commit dacoities, robberies, etc. Training in the use of swords was being taught to Sikhs in a number of gurdawaras in Gurdaspur district. There was close co-operation between the residents of Jagraon tehsil (Ludhiana) and Farid-

kot State and it was believed that the State authorities had proposed to train 25 youths from Jagraon to organise the tehsil. The increase in the number of Nihangs reached "serious proportions." The Akal Fauj continued to expand and to undergo training, even under salaried instructors and the Shahidi Jathas, the 'SS' of this army was popular.

Towards the end of the month, Sikh preparations were believed to be complete in Moga, Malwa, Doaba. The Majha was not yet ready but Sikh residents in the police station jurisdiction of Sirhali, Tarn Taran, Beas and Verowal were thought to be armed. The Sikhs near Qadian were fully prepared though in the Batala tehsil they were yet unready. The Fifty-lakh Fund was believed to be already oversubscribed, and the police reports feared that there was every possibility "of developments, if the decision taken in the negotiations which were to start on June the 2nd, did not suit the Sikh book."

Important Akali leaders were touring about to ensure that all possible preparations were complete. Ishar Singh Majhail went to Sialkot district where Akali workers had been busy touring the rural areas and had enlisted 500 members for the Shahidi Jatha and appointed Giani Labh Singh as Commander in charge of the Sialkot District Shahidi Jatha and Harcharan Singh, Supervisor and Jathedar Puran Singh Nihang in charge of the Shahidi Jatha, Sialkot city. Giani Kartar Singh who had been touring Lyallpur villages by car to provide arms, it was believed, to Sikhs and members of the RSSS, visited Kot Kapura (Faridkot State) to meet Sikhs of the Moga and Jagraon tehsils on the 11th and Sahnewal (Ludhiana) on the 13th of May. To comply with his instructions, each village was to have jathabandi. Jathas were to be reinforced by mounted men and ex-military and INA men equipped with fire-arms. Close co-operation with the neigh-

bouring States was to be considered necessary. The Sikhs in the event of future disturbances must take the initiative and on the outbreak, disrupt communications. Udham Singh, Nagoke and Master Amar Singh Dosanjh visited the Jullundur and Phagwara centres respectively to organise their own party 'cells.' Swaran Singh visited Hoshiarpur and Moga and during his Hoshiarpur trip told an audience "to complete their preparations as the Panth call could soon be expected."

Intensive propaganda in the Hoshiarpur and Jullundur districts resulted in the creation of 3 new 'cells' in Bilga, Bika and Lakhpur, an anti-Pakistan committee in Dhalliwal, Nakodar, the collection of Rs. 2,000 towards Panthic funds, the organisation of 24 village 'defence committees,' the opening of a centre at Gardhiwala for 25 surrounding villages to re-inforce Sikhs in the Muslim dominated areas of Dasuya and Tanda and the appointment of 'Thana Commanders' for Tanda, Dasuya and Mukerian in the Hoshiarpur district. Anandpura in this area was made into a stronghold. Every Sikh village was required to raise a body of 10 Sikhs and one jathedar. Volunteers were coming forward willingly and this number was often trebled. Shahidi Jathas now extended even to Multan district where Ishar Singh of Mubarakpur visited Mian Channun and enlisted 45 Sikh men and 27 Sikh women. The Shahidi Jatha in Multan district numbered 200. Shahidi Jathas of 25 men were stationed at each gurdawara. The conversion of Sikhs to Nihangs reached "rather alarming proportions." Enlistment in the Akal Fauj continued, and likewise training in gatka and sword-fighting, though the main attention of the Sikhs was diverted to training of Shahidi Jathas in villages.

The under-ground activities of the RSSS during the communal disturbances were revealed in Lahore where members

of the organisation had been engaged in arson and murder. Branches continued their efforts to obtain fire-arms and members of the Ferozepur branch of the RSSS came to notice for attempting to procure arms and bombs from army officers. RSSS volunteers of Lyallpur were provided with steel helmets and spears, if they had no other arms, and both this and the Nawanshahr branch in Multan were under training by ex-military Gurkhas. Members of the RSSS who enjoyed considerable popularity in Ambala obtained regular training in lathi fighting and other exercises in Kalsia State. Membership was reported to be considerably increasing in Sialkot district, where members wore yellow shirts as their distinctive dress.

At this stage, the fear that a partition scheme evolved by the Viceroy would contemplate only 12 districts of the 29 for the Hindu-Sikh bloc was fully exploited for propaganda purposes and the Sikh community was deliberately conditioned to expect an armed struggle as inevitable. On the 15th of May, a meeting of prominent Sikhs of Gujranwala, Sialkot, Montgomery, Lyallpur and Sheikhupura districts was held in Sheikhupura. A Committee was formed consisting of Giani Kartar Singh, Sardar Sant Singh of Arup, Sardar Harcharan Singh Bajwa, Sardar Hukam Singh, Barrister and Man Singh, M.L.A., to operate in the five districts and create an anti-Pakistan front under the direction of the Akali High Command. The determination to retain these districts was vigorously expressed by Giani Kartar Singh who in addition to visiting Montgomery, Okara and Renala on the 13th conducted a whirlwind tour of Lyallpur district in the company of the District Commander of the Akal Fauj, preaching the necessity of an offensive and the collection of arms. Villagers were openly told that they must be prepared to fight the Muslims.

Udham Singh Nagoke toured the Malwa area, and as a result, 57 Sikhs joined the Shahidi jatha at Muktsar and 500 enlisted

at Kot Kapura. There were also reports that he was attempting to secure arms and send men to the concentration at Amritsar and that Sikhs were being imported from the States, particularly Jind and Faridkot, into the districts of Amritsar and Jullundur with this object.

Local Akali representatives conducted extensive tours in the Jullundur and Hoshiarpur districts. In the former, posters were distributed advocating the establishment of an anti-Pakistan Committee, and intensification of economic boycott and appealing to ex-military men to seek employment in the Amritsar gurdawaras. As a result of the tours, two new jathas were formed in Jullundur district, arrangements made for the training of Sikh youths in gatka fighting in some villages and Rs. 1,500 collected towards the Fifty-lakh Fund. In Hoshiarpur four 'defence' committees were formed and Rs. 1,000 collected.

A report received during this period stated that the number of Nihangs recently initiated in Gurdaspur was estimated at 600. A number of baptisms had occurred in the presence of 3,000—4,000 villagers in Gurdawara Phalahi Sahib (15th May) and thirty spears and 60 chakkars had been distributed on the occasion. There were similar large scale conversions in the Amritsar, Rupar, Thanesar and Karnal areas and there were tours of conversions by Nihangs in the Hissar district. In certain areas particularly in the Ferozepore district the Nihangs paraded the town in bands and terrorized the Muslims.

There were bomb explosions in Chiniot (Jhang district) and Burewala (Multan district) for which members of the RSSS were known to be responsible. Twenty-nine unexploded bombs were subsequently recovered from RSSS members in Burewala. There were bomb explosions also in Multan and Maghiana. On information that Hindu youths were testing

Commission could be rectified by a final appeal, the "appeal to cold steel".

Consequently, on the propaganda front, there was considerable activity among the Sikhs and much of it was evidence of the dangerous mood of the community. Amar Singh Dosanjh who had become acting president of the Shiromani Akali Dal was responsible for Gurmukhi posters in which he said that Pakistan was death for the Sikhs and that the minimum demand of the community was a sovereign state from the Chenab to the Janna. This lead was strongly backed by the AISSF who also issued posters advocating a strong confederacy of Sikh districts and States. Udham Singh Nagoke told Singh Sabhas throughout the province that Sikhs must be prepared in every way to maintain the integrity of the Panth, while Mohan Singh of the INA did much the same in Lyallpur. He also made some extremely inflammatory speeches in private meetings suggesting that if arms were required, police stations and police armouries should be raided. He preached Hindu-Sikh inseparability and asserted that together the two communities could defeat the Muslims. Master Tara Singh made vehement appeals for funds "for the forthcoming struggle." Many districts reported further efforts to organise. The organisation in the Doaba was practically complete, there was much active preparation in the Lyallpur district partly as a result of the recent instructions given by leaders of the calibre of Giani Kartar Singh and Mohan Singh of the INA. Another INA officer, Bishan Singh, undertook the 'defensive' organisation of Hindus and Sikhs in Sargodha city while in Gujranwala. Giani Kartar Singh again was responsible for an intensification of preparations. In Multan and Montgomery, Shahidi jathas were growing apace. Money continued to pour in for the Fifty-lakh Fund. Enlistment to the various Sikh volunteer corps went on. In the Hoshiarpur district 1,600 members in the secret 'cells' of the

Shahidi jathas were reported and there was no reason to think that other districts were lagging behind in endeavour. A Gurmukhi pamphlet came to notice signed by Master Tara Singh declaring that territory full of Sikh religious places and properties had been included in Pakistan which should not be borne at any cost and that the Sikhs should enlist in Shahidi jathas. A number of Diwans were held in border districts reiterating opposition to inclusion in Pakistan. On the 14th of June, the Anti-Pakistan Committee of Doaba Rachna (the Trans-Ravi and Montgomery districts) decided to prepare at least 10,000 Sikhs for an offensive against the Pakistan plan, each district to provide 2,000 men. It was also decided to ask the Governor for permission to hold public meetings and if an unsatisfactory reply was received, to send jathas to court arrest. Deliberate false propaganda against the District administration alleging the suppression of non-Muslims, particularly the Sikhs, was to be inspired, including the false allegation that Sikh Diwans in gurdawaras had been banned and arms licenses cancelled and Giani Kartar Singh was reported to be in sympathy with this move. Armed concentrations in the gurdawaras were strengthened, and crude bombs were reported to be under preparation in Sikh villages of Sargodha district.

fused electric bulbs with the object of manufacturing bombs.
This branch also decided to enlist women members.

VIII

Hindu-Sikh preparations on these lines continued throughout July and well into August, but by then the plan that had been maturing for months and perhaps longer had already begun to be translated into action. The manner in which the plan was implemented forms the subject of another note, but enough material has been given in the foregoing pages to leave little doubt of the existence of a plan. The facts presented above are based on official reports which, whatever their shortcomings, remain, comparatively speaking, the most reliable, authentic, the best informed and most carefully sifted body of evidence available on the subject of Sikh secret activities during the first half of 1947. These facts emerge from a mass of details which have been put down at some length and with the minimum of comment because in their accumulative effect they constitute overwhelming and incontrovertible evidence. It is clear from this evidence that as part of the more ambitious irredentist dream of Sikh sovereignty, the immediate objectives of the plan were (a) extensive sabotage and destruction of Muslim life and property and (b) the elimination, if possible, of Muslims from the Sikh belt along the eastern border of West Punjab.

This plan was conceived by the Sikhs, though a section of the Hindus was not only aware of its general outlines and implications but aided and abetted them at many points. The central figures of the conspiracy were Master Tara Singh,

Giani Kartar Singh, Udham Singh Nagoke and other leaders of the Akali party. The main lines of the preparations were (a) the collection of funds (b) the collection, manufacture and import of arms (c) wide-spread and large-scale enlistment of Sikhs in private armies such as the Akal Fauj and the Shahidi Jathas, and (d) the development of a well-knit organisation capable of swift murderous action according to a centralised plan. All sections of the Sikh community—the intelligentsia, religious and political leaders, *ex-INA* men, peasants, teachers and students—were mobilised to perfect the plan and extensive, and in some cases elaborate, arrangements were taken in hand to train men both for staff work and for murder, looting and arson. The evidence presented in the foregoing pages as well as that contained in the appendices to this note places the responsibility for the plan unmistakably on the Sikh leaders (notably Master Tara Singh) who through these fateful months feverishly toured the province penetrating to the remotest rural areas, preaching hatred and strife either openly or in the precincts of their gurdawaras and hysterically preparing and equipping their followers to the highest pitch, for the perpetration of the massacres that followed. It also makes it clear that the Sikh States no less than the Sikh leaders of British Punjab were active members of the conspiracy and that the militant section of the Hindus (in some cases inspired, guided and trained by Hindu apostles of violence in other provinces of India) helped their designs throughout, by carrying on underground terrorist activity and by organising useful information and intelligence.

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APPENDIX I

Certain statements recorded by the Punjab Criminal Investigation Department illustrating the Sikh plan.

A

1. *Extract from the statement of Ganpat Rai, Khosla, son of Inder Sain, resident of Rahon, District Jullundur, now house No. 11, Shayam Street, Krishan Nagar, Lahore*

On or about the 22nd or 23rd July 1947, I and Ram Lal went to Amritsar to see Master Tara Singh concerning :

- (a) outstanding balance of Rs. 700 paid to Jathedar Shanghara Singh for the purchase of rifles ;
- (b) to obtain imitation grenades promised on our last visit by Master Tara Singh.

I was called in by Master Tara Singh. I requested him to give the bombs promised by him on our last visit (two weeks earlier) saying that Ram Lal had come with me and would carry the bombs to Lahore. He said that they were not still available. I introduced Ram Lal to Master Tara Singh and myself returned to Lahore. Ram Lal returned on the next day and informed me that neither the bombs nor any conveyance could be arranged for. Ram Lal then informed me that Master had told him something which he had not revealed to me and that he would be giving a closed cover to me for Masterji. The following was the message on his chit :—

“ Ek char baje chalti hai aur pandran din ke ba'd do chala karenge.”
On seeing Master Tara Singh I placed this chit in his hand. He smilingly replied that he did not mind telling the secret to me and it was only about the Pakistan Special Trains running from Delhi to Karachi. Master Tara Singh then asked me if I could obtain help from the R. S. S. Sangh on the following points :—

- (a) Obtaining the correct time-table about the Pakistan Specials.
- (b) If two Hindu boys with Muslim appearance could be arranged to man a wireless transmitter to keep in touch with the schedules of the trains.

He said that he was going to Delhi next morning by car and would be putting up with Sardar Bachhitar Singh at 6, Hailey Road, New Delhi, and that at first either I or Ram Lal should see him there alone with the time-table of these trains. The boys required by him would then be summoned by him to Delhi. He then gave me the following information :—

“ A young Sikh of about 17/18 years of age was already working on the plan of wrecking the Pakistan Train along with 3/4 other Sikhs. These boys are so keen for the operation that they have spent Rs. 10,000 to 12,000 from their own pockets in promoting it. The train was to be blasted with a quantity of explosive, the name of which began with ‘ S ’ and ended with ‘ ite ’ which is to be blasted by these boys from a distance of about two miles with a battery. After wrecking the train, the occupants are to be killed with rifle fire and the whole train is to be set on fire.”

During these talks Master Tara Singh said that it would be best if Mr. Jinnah could be killed. He said that the best occasion to kill Jinnah was on the 15th August in Karachi when he is to move in a procession. He said that any Hindu or Sikh boy could do the action as he had to die with Jinnah at the spot. He said that Jinnah was to ride an elephant and could easily be done away with either by a rifle or by a bomb and the act could be done by only one individual. He also suggested that a Hindu boy with Muslim appearance who could get employment in Jinnah’s household as a cook or a servant could do the deed very easily.

* * * * *

2. *Extract from the statement of Ram Lal, son of Sant Ram, caste Khatri, resident of village Borani Bhattian, Police Station Bodhana, district Jhang, now house No. 4, Guru Ram Dass Street, Krishna Nagar, Lahore.*

Gowardhan Lal and Ganpat Rai Khosla used to bring bombs from Master Tara Singh from Amritsar. The day following the day on which a labour train was stopped and assaulted beyond Mughalpurā, Ganpat Rai Khosla told me that he was going to Amritsar and that I should accompany him. We left Lahore in the afternoon by train and arrived at the Shahid Sikh Missionary College, Amritsar. Master Tara Singh was sitting outside in the open on a chair. Khosla made me sit under a *chappar*, a little away from him, and himself went and talked to the Master. Early next morning Ganpat Rai Khosla left for the railway station. After my morning bath, I saw Master Tara Singh

in the open ground and asked him if Khosla had told him to give me bombs. He replied in the affirmative, but said that he was short of English-made grenades but had some local made ones and would enquire if any were readily available. He summoned Giani Gurbachan Singh who lives in the Sikh Missionary College and sent him with me on his (Master Tara Singh's) car (a new Ford Saloon of a dark blue or blackish colour). Giani Gurbachan Singh took me to Serai Guru Ramdass. On the way Giani told me that he was not sure if grenades would be readily available. On reaching the serai he said that he would go up-stairs and make enquiries. While moving about there, Giani Gurbachan Singh was asking for Sardar Atma Singh and Sardar Bhag Singh. He named one or two others as well but I do not remember their names. After some time Giani Gurbachan Singh told me finally that I could be given 50 locally made grenades working with fuses, but that I could not be given a car or a transport to Lahore which I should arrange for myself. Both of us then started for the Sikh Missionary College in Master Tara Singh's car. While I was telephoning Master Tara Singh came up to me strolling there. I informed him that I had been told to bring my own car for transporting grenades. I then started on the subject of the Harbanspura labour train and he said that I should not worry because he was going to avenge it and had already made out a scheme and had collected men and such material which could be used to blow up a train or a bridge. He added that the target was to be one of the Pakistan Special Trains running from Delhi to Karachi and what he wanted was the time-table of these trains. I told him that I had a friend in the Lahore Railway Head Office and I would get the required information from him.

Next morning Ganpat Rai Khosla got ready to go to Amritsar. I wrote down the following message on a piece of paper and gave it to him telling him not to read it, but to ask from Master Tara Singh if he wanted to do so :—

“ Ek gari roz char bajе chalti hai, aur pandrah tarikh ke ba'd roz do ehala karengi.”

A day after my return to Lahore, Ganpat Rai Khosla met me and taunted me that I had given wrong information to Master Tara Singh about the Pakistan trains. Khosla had told me that the information was to be carried by me to Master Tara Singh at Delhi, but later on he started insisting that he would personally take this information to Master Tara Singh.

* * * * *

3. *Extract from the statement of Chaman Lal, son of Pandit Laik Ram caste Brahman of Indora, district Kangra, now of Shanti Ashram, Lytton Road, Lahore and Girls School Building, Sita Gali, Krishan Nagar, Lahore.*

As soon as Rawalpindi disturbances started in March 1947, Om Parkash Ved was deputed on secret duty for making preparations for disturbances while I was promoted as Bhagkariwa by Dharam Vir Ji, the Sangh Chalak of Lahore. Om Parkash Ved organised the Rajgarh raid.

Ved Amar Nath brought Ganpat Rai Khosla to my house and told me that he had a connection with Darshan Singh of Lodge Road, Lahore, and a wide contact with the Sikhs.

To procure arms Rs. 2,000 had been given to Shangara Singh, Jathedar of Shahidganj Gurdwara. While we were looking for more arms, Khosla hit upon the plan of going to Faridkot for the same. A Jathedar of Faridkot was known to Darshan Singh and also to Khosla. Both Khosla and Gowardhan Lal returned from Faridkot the next day and told us that no hand-grenades were available there, but revolvers could be obtained at fancy prices varying from Rs. 800 to Rs. 1,200. Khosla volunteered to go and see Master Tara Singh directly and not to hanker after Darshan Singh. Khosla ran down to Amritsar, saw Master Tara Singh and returned the same day. He reported in a meeting that Master Tara Singh had not recognised him and wanted an introductory letter either from Rai Bahadur Badri Dass or Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargu or Dr. Gokal Chand Narang. After some discussion we deputed Pandit Gian Chand to obtain Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargu's letter. He brought a letter from Dr. Gopi Chand. Its contents were as follows :—

“ My dear Masterji,

I know Mr. G. R. Khosla well.

(Sd.) Gopi Chand.”

In the evening Gowardhan Lal and G. R. Khosla went to Amritsar with this letter. Next morning they returned in Sohan Singh Dora's military car and brought 10 hand-grenades and one bakelite-grenade. Khosla told us that 16 grenades had been sanctioned for our party by Master Tara Singh.

At an earlier stage, Ganpat Rai Khosla said that about 150 fuses were lying with Jathedar Budha Singh and Jathedar Tara Singh of Gurdwara Shahid Ganj.

Ram Lal told me that Master Tara Singh had asked him to procure the time-table of the Pakistan Special Trains running between Delhi and Karachi.

Amar Chand Bhatia, Assistant Editor of the *Tribune* who is living in Krishen Nagar, had taken Rs. 300 from Ram Lal for purchasing bombs for us. This Editor had promised to get Rs. 5,000 for our party from Yodh Raj, the Manager of the Punjab National Bank. Ram Lal got a letter from A. C. Bhatia in the name of L. Eram Chand of the Civil Secretariat for collecting money from Yodh Raj at Simla.

Ram Lal had told me that Seth Sudarshan, M. L. A., had promised to give any amount of money to us, but we did not make any attempt to contact him.

B

Extract from the statement of Pritam Singh Johal, s/o Sawan Singh of Kapura, P. S. Mehna, district Ferozepore.

I was despatched to India as an enemy agent by the Japanese in 1943. I was finally released from the Montgomery Jail in the beginning of April, 1944. On or about the 20th of October, 1946, Basant Singh procured for me the Office Secretaryship of Pritinidhi Panthic Board, Amritsar. On the 5th of March, 5 Sewadars of Darbar Sahib were sent out to Amritsar city to announce a hartal. These Sewadars clashed with a small party of Muslims. Udham Singh Nagoke led a party of about 25 Sikhs to Gali Rorianwali. I did not accompany this party but learnt later on that they had some skirmishes with the Muslims. The four guns licensed in the name of Darbar Sahib, Amritsar, were continuously in use by one or other of these parties. Other important ring leaders were later on rewarded with Rs. 100 each by the Shrimani Akali Dal. On the 6th morning, Ishar Singh Majhail came to me in my office and enquired if I had learnt the manufacturing of bombs in the I.N.A. I replied in the affirmative and gave him a list of the ingredients and the quantities required. I prepared about a dozen fuse bombs but these were discarded by Ishar Singh. He then asked me to prepare incendiary bottles which I did. Later on when Mr. MacDonald, the then Home Secretary, was taken round Darbar Sahib to show how a number of Muslim women had been protected by the Sikhs, I threw away these articles in the Kaulsar Tank at the instance of Ishar Singh Majhail. After the first round of communal rioting in Amritsar had passed, Udham Singh Nagoke brought one Harbans Singh (?) and got 60 potassium chlorate and sulphur bombs prepared by him at a cost of Rs. 600.

In the meantime, I learnt that Mohan Singh of the I.N.A. fame had set up his office in Majitha house and was recruiting ex-I.N.A. men for specific jobs. The most important thing that had to be taken up immediately, according to him, was to induce the Sikhs to volunteer for joining the police in large numbers. In the beginning of April, 1947, Udham Singh Nagoke brought in one Dr. Bakhshish Singh of Dehra Dun and Sant Santokh Singh of Jalandhar in Doaba.

and one of his disciples, all three of whom were stated to be expert in bomb making. Dr. Bakhshish Singh started his set-up in the upper storey of a house situated on the right when one enters the Gurdwara of Tarn Taran from the main gate. Bakhshish Singh had started a sort of regular school where some college students and *ex-I.N.A.* men were given training. Later on I learnt from the Sewadar circles at Darbar Sahib that the SGPC had put Amar Singh to obtain a licence for manufacturing kirpans in Faridkot State and open a factory in which bombs would be prepared instead of kirpans. There was a similar proposal to get Dr. Bakhshish Singh fixed up in Nabha State.

Basant Singh gave me a wireless set, which was somewhat incomplete, to hand over to any of the following four persons :—

1. Jathedar Mohan Singh, President SGPC.
2. Ishar Singh Majhail.
3. Udham Singh Nagoke.
4. Bhag Singh, Advocate, of Gurdaspur.

One 'Akbar' (a Sikh who during his period of training with one of the Penang Spy School had taken on this Muslim assumed name) had been put in charge of wireless training by the Akalis.

During my stay in Amritsar I found dumps of arms, ammunition and explosives at the following places :—

1. Baba Tal Sahib.
2. Akal Takht.
3. Bara Dari of Ranjit Singh.

Col. Thakur Singh, *ex-Commander* X-Regiment of the *I.N.A.* is organising all the Sikh *I.N.A.* men classified 'Black' for some secret purpose. I obtained 10 days' leave and left Amritsar for Moga on the morning of May 24th. Basant Singh asked me to cut short my leave, as there was plenty of work to be done. SGPC had purchased a number of jeep cars and other motor vehicles for Rs. 1,00,000 through the Maharaja of Faridkot. Basant Singh Moga had been given one of these jeeps for his use. Its number is FS 219. We then proceeded to Faridkot, where Basant Singh alone went into a house and saw some one, leaving me and the driver out on the road. From Faridkot we went to Muktesar. From Muktesar we drove to Abohar and from there to village Gobindgarh and then went to Head Sulemanke. At this place Basant Singh collected data regarding some villages, their areas, boundaries, population, distances from railway station, nearest Telegraph Office, roads and canal. Basant Singh contacted the Sikh land-owners of village Koranj and warned them that they were sitting on the boundary of Pakistan and should collect arms and ammunition for their safety and protection. We then returned to

Muktesar where Harnam Singh Kabarwachha gave a message to Basant Singh from Master Tara Singh to the effect that as Sikh units of the Army had been posted in Ferozepur area, the original programme which they had to carry out in that district should be withheld.

Basant Singh told me that I was to leave for Amritsar to contact Bhag Singh, Advocate, straightaway on my arrival and deliver him the following message from Basant Singh ;

“We have seen all the places and roads and collected the required information but Harnam Singh Kabarwachha has brought a message from Master Tara Singh to the effect that our action should be postponed as Sikh units of the Indian Army have been despatched to Ferozepur district. Irrespective of this message from Master Tara Singh we are still awaiting your final decision on the subject. Will you please intimate to us your instructions on the subject ?”

I contacted Ishar Singh Majhail and delivered Basant Singh's messages to him instead. Ishar Singh Majhail told me to go back to Moga and inform Basant Singh that the action should take place. Ishar Singh Majhail added that the decision lay with Udham Singh Nagoke who was the prime mover of the whole scheme. I was again called by Ishar Singh who informed me that Dhan Singh, Jathedar of Akali Dal, had just arrived with a letter from Master Tara Singh informing them that as the Master was arriving in Amritsar the same evening the action should in any case be postponed till his return. I reached Moga the same evening and informed Basant Singh of what I had learnt from Ishar Singh. Basant Singh showed indignation.

On the morning of 4th June, Basant Singh gave me a wireless set to be delivered to any one of the four consignees of the previous set in Teja Singh Hall. I was travelling with this set when I was arrested at the Kasur Railway Station. There was a rumour that these sets were to be used for creating wireless contacts between certain places like Panja Sahib situated in Pakistan areas with places in Hindustan.

C

(ILLUSTRATING THE SIKH PLAN IN OPERATION)

A meeting was held at Jullundur on the 22nd August between the representatives of the Governments of the West and East Punjab.

2. The party representing the West Punjab Government, including the Premier, also C.S. & D.P.I. left Lahore in the morning under a military escort and reached Jullundur at about 10-30 a.m. The meeting finished at 1 p.m. The party left Jullundur at about 5 p.m. on their return to Lahore.

3. On the way back, the party met a large number of refugees near the village Chauhan. The refugees were escorted by Gurkha troops and on enquiry it was found that a few neighbouring villages had been attacked with considerable loss of human life, and that the refugees from these and neighbouring villages were concentrating at Chauhan. The tales related by these people were pitiful.

4. After a short halt at Chauhan, the party proceeded on its way. A few miles further the party noticed huge columns of smoke from three villages. The Premier decided to visit these villages and a small party was arranged for this purpose. The party travelled in two jeeps and a car. The jeeps contained Captain Riches, the leader of the escort, five or six Sikh sepoy and two Muslim sepoy, drivers of the jeeps. The jeeps also contained Mr. Leonix of Metro-Goldwyn Mayer, Mr. Vohra of the "Statesman", and Mr. Shafi of the "Pakistan Times". The Premier was accompanied by Messrs. H. A. Majid, A. K. Malik and S. M. Sharif. The party travelled by the canal bank for about one and a half miles and then down the kacha road for another mile, before reaching the first village (Dharar) which was on fire. The party found the village completely dead. The houses were deserted and gave the impression that the inmates had fled at a moment's notice. Down the lane, two Sikhs were found looting a house. Captain Riches covered them with his revolver and caught them. Similarly, he caught two or three others. As it was already getting late, the party decided to return, and on the way back just outside the village it ran into a group of Sikhs carrying a cartload of looted property. Three more arrests were made. The people so arrested were asked questions by the members of the party and they related an astonishing story. It is necessary to remember that the escort covering the party comprised five or six Sikhs, while the two Muslim driver sepoy were sitting in the jeeps at a little distance, and this may explain why the arrested people gave away important information without any hesitation.

5. Darshan Singh stated that the village had been attacked on the previous night and that all the inhabitants, nearly 120 people, had been killed. He stated that he had killed five fellows himself, and boastfully added that no one had been allowed to escape alive. He also stated that only five women were killed, while the rest were taken away. Basanta was asked how many he

had killed. He stated, pointing to his white beard, that he was too old to kill people, but that he was one of the 'firo raisers'. Another fellow stated, in response to a question, that the village to be raided is selected beforehand, and that this is done under the orders of S. Fauja Singh or S. Udham Singh, and that the message is usually brought in the evening by a messenger on horseback. They were asked about their programme for the following day and they replied that the message had not reached them by then, and that they would determine their future programme after the receipt of the message. A man who was arrested inside a house in one of the lanes stated that he was a "Musalli", and that he had been sent to collect the remaining dead bodies and to burn them or bury them. He also stated that the usual programme, after a village has been attacked and the people killed, is for a squad of people to collect all the dead bodies and to do away with them.

6. He was asked to give details of the manner in which the village was attacked, and he stated that on the previous night a few shots were heard just outside the village. The villagers thought that the village was being attacked, and naturally ran out to meet the attacking party. Outside the village they were confronted by people dressed in military uniforms who fired at them. They ran back into the village and tried to escape at the other end, where they were killed by a gang of people armed with swords, kirpans and barehhas, who were obviously waiting for them.

7. Three of the arrested people, who had made these statements, were put in the jeep and were handed over by Captain Riches to the police at the Jandiala Police Station. It was at this stage they realized their mistake of having confided to the wrong persons, and they threw themselves at the feet of Captain Riches asking for forgiveness.

8. The information gathered from these people shows that the attacks are organised in a proper manner. The first stage is to fire a few shots outside the village to give the people the impression that they are being attacked. When the people rush out to meet the enemy, they are attacked by people dressed in military uniforms. Naturally, they run back to the village and try to get out of it at the other end. An armed mob awaits them outside and murders them ruthlessly. The next stage is that the 'Musallis' pick up the dead bodies and either bury them or burn them. The village is then pillaged. The attack on the villages is made under orders and the massacre is so thorough that no trace is left, nor any possibility of claims for property or land. Most of the women are abducted and their cuts remain unknown for a long time.

APPENDIX II

Statement showing number of Sikhs baptised as Nihangs and number of Hindus converted as Sikhs from March 1947 to July 1947

Date and month	Place	Brief Facts
April, 1947 ..	Bhikiwind, Lahore district ..	100 Sikhs were baptised as Nihangs by Sohan Singh Nihang.
		In other neighbouring villages, too, Sikhs were baptised as Nihangs.
Ditto ..	Julluudur ..	25 Hindus took 'Amrit' on Baisakhi and became Sikhs.
Ditto ..	Kamoke, Gurdwara Rori Sahib, Eminabad, Gujranwala district.	500 Sikh youths were baptised as Nihangs to be used for the protection of Gurdwaras.
Ditto ..	Sur Singh Jhabbal, Amritsar ..	170 Sikhs became Nihangs.
Ditto ..	Bhikiwind, Lahore district ..	Baba Sohan Singh converted 250 Sikhs to Nihangs in Bhikiwind area and the Sikh propagandists in the Kasur Sub-Division, Gurdaspur district and the Rai Kot jurisdiction of Ludhiana district advocated such conversion.
Ditto ..	Gurdwara Singh Sabha, Sheikhpura.	Giani Rattan Singh converted 30 Hindus.
Ditto ..	Bhai Pheru, Lahore district ..	105 Sikhs were converted to Nihangs.
Ditto ..	Burj Phula Singh, Amritsar City.	100 Sikhs were baptised as Nihangs.
Ditto ..	Tarn Taran, Amritsar district	100 Sikhs were administered 'Amrit'.
Ditto ..	Lyallpur district ..	Number of Nihangs of Budha Dal toured in the Lyallpur district for enlistment as Nihangs and many were converted.
Ditto ..	Kot Radha Kishan, Lahore district.	56 Sikhs were baptised by Baba Sohan Singh as Nihangs.
Ditto ..	Kanganpur, Lahore district ..	60 Rai Sikhs were baptised as Nihangs by Baba Sohan Singh.
Ditto ..	Gujranwala district ..	30 Sikhs received baptism in the Gujranwala district.
Ditto ..	Rupar Sub-Division, Ambala district.	400 Sikhs in the Kharar Tehsil, amongst whom was a number of bad characters, received baptism at the hand of Jathe-dar Tara Singh.
Ditto ..	Muktsar, Ferozepore district ..	423 Sikhs were converted on the occasion of the Amawas.
Ditto ..	Khokhri Kalan, Ferozepore district.	80 persons were baptised as Nihangs.
Ditto ..	Baghapurana, Ferozepore district.	193 Sikhs became Nihangs.

Date and month	Place	Brief Facts
April, 1947 ..	Burewala, Multan district ..	30 Sikhs took 'Amrit' and became Nihangs.
Ditto ..	Rupar Sub-Division, Ambala district.	500 Sikhs were baptised as Nihangs by Jathedar Tara Singh.
Ditto ..	Narowal Tehsil	50 Sikhs were converted to Nihangs.
Ditto ..	Daska Tehsil	60 Sikhs were baptised as Nihangs.
Ditto ..	Amritsar district	360 Sikhs were baptised as Nihangs by Jathedar Solan Singh.
May, 1947 ..	Malwa area	730 Sikhs were converted to Nihangs, by Bala Daya Singh of Bhadrwind and Hardayal of Ferozepore districts.
Ditto ..	Amritsar district	Jathedar Kehar Singh converted 90 Sikhs to Nihangs.
Ditto ..	Shah Gharib, Gurdaspur district.	210 Sikhs were baptised as Nihangs.
Ditto ..	Dera Baba Nanak, Gurdaspur district.	91 Sikhs were converted to Nihangs.
Ditto ..	Gurdwara Burj Sahib, Shakargarh.	210 Sikhs were baptised as Nihangs.
Ditto ..	Kharar, Ambala district ..	Most of the Sikhs baptised as Nihangs were bad characters.
Ditto ..	Kasur Sub-Division	About 2,000 Sikhs were converted to Nihangs by Jathedar Baba Bohan Singh.
Ditto ..	Wandho, Gujranwala district	118 baptisms were carried out in the jurisdiction of P. B. Wandho.
Ditto ..	Nazar Labana, district Sheikhupura.	About 80 Labana Sikhs were baptised as Nihangs.
Ditto ..	Kot Bhai, Ferozepore district	150 Sikhs became Nihangs.
Ditto ..	Baghapurana, district Ferozepore.	900 baptisms were reported at this place.
Ditto ..	Tarn Taran, district Amritsar	One hundred conversions were reported at the Tarn Taran Dera held on the night of 19th/20th May, 1947.
Ditto ..	Jhabbal, Amritsar district ..	Sohan Singh Gursingh effected 115 conversions.
Ditto ..	Gaggobua, P. S. Jhabbal, Amritsar district.	60 Sikhs were baptised as Nihangs on the occasion of religious fair.
Ditto ..	Shakargarh, Gurdaspur and Batala tehsils.	450 conversions to Nihangs took place in the tehsils of Gurdaspur district. The total number of Nihangs initiated in Gurdaspur District up to date was 500.
Ditto ..	Sadr Area, Amritsar district ..	Baba Har Singh baptised 50 Sikhs in the Sadr Area.
Ditto ..	Malwa area	

Date and month	Place	Brief Facts
May, 1947 ..	Rupar Sub-Division ..	Nihangs of Budha Dal were believed to have converted about 700 Sikhs.
Ditto ..	Thanesar Tehsil, Karnal district	70—80 baptisms were made in this tehsil.
Ditto ..	Muktsar, Ferozepore district ..	500 conversions were effected during the two days on Anawas and Nihango paraded the town in bands.
June, 1947 ..	Hoshiarpur district ..	13 conversions of Sikhs to Nihangs were reported in Hoshiarpur district.
Ditto ..	Tanda, Gujrat district ..	5 Labana Sikhs of Tanda became Nihangs.
Ditto ..	Bhulawind, Lahore ..	240 Sikhs were baptised as Nihangs by Baba Sohan Singh.
Ditto ..	Dhariwal, Gurdaspur district ..	125 Nihangs were initiated in Dhariwal on 25th May and 200 baptised as a result of a visit by Jathedar Gian Singh.
Ditto ..	Doaba and Malwa area ..	30 new conversions were reported in the Doaba area and 355 in Malwa. The number of Nihangs in Ferozepore district increased enormously; it was estimated that the daily increase was 200 and it was believed that total number in the district was more than 5,000.
Ditto ..	Rupar Sub-Division ..	800 Sikhs were so far converted to Nihangs in this Sub-Division.
Ditto ..	Duniwala, Multan district ..	200 Rai Sikhs were baptised by Sant Diwan Singh.
Ditto ..	Hoshiarpur and Jullundur area	16 new conversions were reported.
Ditto ..	Amritsar district ..	100/200 baptisms were reported from Gharinda and Lopeke.
Ditto ..	Muktsar, Ferozepore district and Thatha Sahib and Sherpura, Ludhiana district.	75 new Nihangs were baptised at Muktsar Thatha Sahib and Sherpura (Ludhiana).
Ditto ..	Kotli Atari and Deeperar, Montgomery district.	Two hundred Sikhs were converted to Nihangs.
July, 1947 ..	Batala Tehsil ..	143 new baptisms were effected.
Ditto ..	Majitha and Sadr area Amritsar	28 conversions were reported from Majitha area and 120 in Sadr area.
Ditto ..	Amritsar district ..	The total number of Nihangs in the district was estimated to be 1,615 in the first week of July 1947. The total number as reported on the 12th July was 1,669.
Ditto ..	Hoshiarpur district ..	12 Sikhs were converted to Nihangs.
Ditto ..	Gurdaspur district	60 Nihangs were baptised.

Recovery of arms and ammunition recovered by the police between March 1947 and July 1947

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[illegible]

APPENDIX III—continued

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Serial No.	Date	Village, Police Station, District	F. I. R. Nos.	Article recovered	RECOVERED FROM			
					Hindu	Sikh	Muslim	Christian
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
12	22-3-47	Basal, P. S. Pind Sultani, Campbellpur.	35	1 pistol	Hindu	..	..	..
13	19-3-47	P. S. Mandra, Rawalpindi	19	1 pistol	Hindu	..	..	..
14	Nil	P. S. City, Rawalpindi	185	1 gun 3 Japanese sword	Hindu	..	..	..
15	Nil	P. S. City, Rawalpindi	185	1 revolver	Hindu	..	..	..
16	25-3-47	Bhamipura, P. S. Jagraon, Ludhiana.	43	1 rifle 45 cartridges	..	Sikh	..	..
17	31-3-47	Muzaffarabad, P. S. Murree, Rawalpindi.	33	1 gun 12 cartridges	..	Sikh	..	..
18	4-4-47	G. R. P. S. Rewari	35	3 guns	..	Not known.		
19	4-4-47	Village Pada, P. S. Nurmahal, Jullundur.	31	1 revolver	..	Sikh	..	..
20	8-4-47	Asal village, P. S. Valtola, Kasur	40	1 gun	..	Sikh	..	..
20-A	4-4-47	Village Jasrit, P. S. Chiniot, Jhang	58, 59, 60	2 guns	..	..	Muslim	..
21	13-4-47	Village Kotli, P. S. Murree, Rawalpindi.	41	1 pistol 1 bullet 2 cartridges	..	Sikh	..	..
22	21-4-47	City Gujranwala	173	3 rounds	Hindu	..	..	..

23	20-4-47	P. S. Gohana, Rohtak	48	1 sten gun 1 rifle 1 revolver 184 cartridges	..	..	Sikh	..	..
24	22-4-47	P. S. Sadar, Muzaffargarh	32	1 rifle	..	..	..	Muslim	..
25	27-4-47	Bazurag, P. S. Sidhvan, Ludhiana	19	26 cartridges	..	..	Sikh	..	..
26	28-4-47	Saka, P. S. Lalamusa, Gujrat	24	1 revolver	..	..	..	Muslim	..
27	29-4-47	P. S. Sadar, Rawalpindi	69	1 revolver 16 cartridges	..	..	Filo 1/3/27-18/17.		
28	30-4-47	P. S. D. Division, Amritsar	142	1 rifle 1 revolver 15 cartridges	..	..	Sikh	..	..
29	5-5-47	Chak Ganesi, P. S. Sahiwal, Sar. godha.	31	1 revolver 4 cartridges	..	..	..	Muslim	..
30	13-5-47	Bath, P. S. Sadar, Amritsar	53	1 pistol 5 cartridges	..	..	..	Muslim	..
	8-5-47	P. S. Sangjani, Rawalpindi	52	1 sten gun 17 cartridges	..	..	Not known.	Not known.	..
	1-5-47	P. S. Mahilpur, Hoshiarpur	23	1 revolver	..	..	Not known.	Not known.	..
	30-4-47	Nankana Sahib, P. S. Mauanwala, Sheikhupura.	53	1 rifle 21 cartridges	..	..	Sikh	..	..
	7-5-47	Chhatianwala, P. S. Kalna Kachha, Lahore.	27	4 barrel of rifle 1 pistol 1 cartridge	..	..	Sikh	..	..
	13-5-47	Chaprar, P. S. Chaprar, Sialkot	28	2 pistols 6 cartridges	..	..	..	Muslim	..
6	29-5-47	Jhang	75	7 pistols 7 cartridges	..	..	..	Muslim	..
37	13-5-47	P. S. City, Rawalpindi	347	2 revolvers	..	..	Not known.	Not known.	..

APPENDIX III—continued

Serial No.	Date	Village, Police Station, District	P. L. R. Nos.	Articles recovered	Recovered from			
					Hindu	Bksh	Muslim	Christian
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
38	20-5-47	P. B. City, Bhakot ..	170	1 pistol 1 cartridge	..	Not known.		
39	14-6-47	Bksh National College, Lahore ..	139	17 cartridges	..	Bksh	..	..
40	15-5-47	Mughalpura, P. B. Mughalpura, Lahore.	137	1 gun 25 cartridges	Hindu	..	..	..
41	14-5-47	Ghawalind, P. B. Mughalpura, Lahore.	141	1 pistol 19 cartridges	..	Bksh	..	..
42	10-5-47	G. R. P. B. Bhargodha ..	19	109 cartridges	Hindu		..	..
43	10-5-47	G. R. P. B. Bhargodha ..	18	1 rifle	Hindu		..	..
44	10-5-47	G. R. P. B. Kandian ..	75	10 cartridges	..		Muslim	1
45	22-5-47	G. R. P. B. Kandian ..	49	3 revolvers 2 pistols, 280 cartridges	..	Not known.		
46	19-5-47	G. R. P. B. Kandian ..	61	1 rifle 120 cartridges	..	Bksh	..	1
47	21-4-47	P. B. 33rd Bhalu, Multan ..	25	1 pistol 10 cartridges	..	Not known.		
48	23-5-47	G. R. P. B. Quampbellpur ..	51	1 pistol 20 cartridges	..	Not known.		

49	14-5-47	P. S. Moghalpura, Lahore	..	140	1 revolver	..	..	Not known.	..
50	12-5-47	P. S. Taunsa, Dera Ghazi Khan	..	48, 49	16 guns .. 1 pistol	..	..	Not known.	..
51	9-5-47	P. S. Duniyapur, Multan	..	42	28 cartridges	..	..	Not known.	..
52	22-5-47	G. R. P. S. Bhatinda ..	..	35	1 rifle .. 25 cartridges	..	..	Not known.	..
53	3-5-47	P. S. Hazro, Campbellpur	..	26	1 pistol 2 cartridges	..	..	Not known.	..
54	20-5-47	P. S. Maghiana, Jhang	..	97	1 gun .. 25 small cannons	..	..	Not known.	..
55	29-5-47	P. S. Maghiana, Jhang	..	93	1 g. ..	..	..	Not known.	..
56	23-5-47	P. S. Nurpur, Kangra ..	..	18	45 cartridges	..	..	Not known.	..
57	9-6-47	G. R. P. S. Kundian ..	..	78	1 rifle .. 230 rounds	..	..	Not known.	..
58	10-6-47	G. R. P. S. Amritsar ..	..	170	1 gun .. 2 pistol 3,010 rounds	..	..	Not known.	..
59	30-5-47	G. R. P. S. Lahore ..	..	25	78 cartridges	..	..	Not known.	..
60	1-6-47	P. S. Cantonment Rawalpindi	..	30	1 revolver	..	..	Not known.	..
61	30-5-47	P. S. Cantonment Rawalpindi	..	63	2 rifles ..	..	..	Not known.	..
2	30-5-47	P. S. Nankana Sahib, Sheikhupura..	..	66	1 revolver	..	..	Not known.	..
63	12-6-47	G. R. P. S. Kundian ..	..	83	1 rifle .. 39 cartridges	..	..	Not known.	..
64	22-5-47	P. S. Taunsa, Dera Ghazi Khan	..	56	30 guns .. 1 rifle 1 pistol	..	..	Not known.	..
65	13-6-47	G. R. P. S. Ferozepore	..	125	2 rifles ..	..	..	Not known.	..

APPENDIX III—continued

Serial No.	Date	Village, Police Station, District	F. I. R. Nos.	Article recovered	Recovered by			
					Hindu	Sikh	Muslim	Christian
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
66	12-6-47	G. R. P. S. Kundian ..	82	4 rifles ..	..	Not known.		
67	12-6-47	P. S. Ropar, Ambala ..	94	1 revolver 6 rounds	..	Not known.		
68	19-5-47	Mandi Darban Singh, P. S. Khangah Dogran, Sheikhupura.	79	1 rifle ..	Hindu	..	..	..
69	18-6-47	G. R. P. S. Kundian ..	84	1 rifle .. 4 cartridges	Hindu	..	..	..
70	17-6-47	G. R. P. S. Campbellpur	70	6 revolvers 280 cartridges	..	..	Muslim	..
71	15-6-47	City Rawalpindi ..	694	5 cartridges	Hindu	..	..	..
72	4-6-47	P. S. Civil Lines, Lahore	303	1 pistol 1 revolver 4 pistol barrels	..	Not known.		
73	24-5-47	Ghurgushti, P. S. Hazro, Attock ..	42	1 revolver 3 cartridges	..	..	Muslim	..
74	2-6-47	G. R. P. S. Kundian ..	75	2 revolvers 38 cartridges	..	..	Muslim	..
75	19-7-47	Village Khokhr, P. S. Niddoki ..	44	1 pistol 3 revolver 16 cartridges	..	Sikh	..	..
76	10-7-47	Montgomery ..	113	1 pistol	..	Sikh	..	..

77	20-7-47	G. R. P. S. Lahore	..	195	1 pistol	..	Sikh	..
78	21-7-47	G. R. P. S. Lahore	..	39	1 pistol	..	Sikh	..
79	22-7-47	Jodha Nagar, P. S. Jandola, Amritsar.	..	107	1 revolver	..	Sikh	..
80	11-7-47	Khairabad, Mianwali	..	59	1 rifle	..	..	Muslim
81	22-7-47	Thumbahri, P. S. Salhwasa	..	56	36 cartridges	Hindu	..	..
82	26-7-47	P. S. Kahuta, Sialkot	..	94	1 revolver 13 rounds	..	..	Muslim
83	24-7-47	P. S. Rajana, Lyallpur	..	52	1 rifle 10 rounds	..	Sikh	..
84	16-7-47	P. S. Fatehgarh, Gurdaspur	..	104	1 pistol	Hindu	..	..
85	27-7-47	P. S. Piplan, Mianwali	..	25	200 cartridges	..	..	Muslim
86	3-8-47	G. R. P. S. Rawalpindi	..	199	1 barrel 478 cartridges	..	..	Muslim
87	9-8-47	Panjoo, P. S. Kahna Kachha, Lahore	..	92	77 pistols 48 cartridges	..	Sikh	..
88	9-8-47	G. R. P. S. Campbellpur	..	120	4 cartridges	Hindu	..	..
89	12-3-47	Nangli Daobi, P. S. Narowal, Sialkot	..	128	4 guns	..	Sikh	..
90	8-8-47	Douglaspur, P. S. City Lyallpur	..	239	1 rifle 76 cartridges	..	Sikh	..
91	13-8-47	P. S. Jampur, Dera Ghazi Khan	..	150	1 pistol	..	Sikh	..
92	13-8-47	P. S. Sadr Sialkot	..	162	1 pistol 2 guns	..	Sikh	..
93	15-8-47	P. S. New Anarkali, Lahore	..	324	1 pistol	Hindu	..	..
94	12-8-47	P. S. City Gujranwala	..	764	1 rifle 22 rounds	..	Sikh	..

Serial No.	Date	Village, Post Office, District	F. I. R. Nos.	Article recovered	RECOVERED FROM			
					Hindu	Sikh	Muslim	Christian
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
95	14-8-47	P. S. City Gujranwala ..	784	4 cartridges	..	Sikh
96	12-7-47	Malowal, P. S. Warburton Sheikhpura.	82	1 revolver 50 rounds	..	Sikh

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RECOVERIES COMMUNITYWISE

	Hindu	Sikh	Muslim	Christian	No known	Hindu	Sikh	Muslim	Chris- tian known					
Arms Ammunition														
13	218	121	1,033	31	1,114	3	..	107	4,736	16	33	18	1	281
Total ..														

APPENDIX IV

Statement of bomb explosions that occurred in the West Punjab between March 1947 and December 1947

Serial No.	Special Report No.	Date of occurrence	Place and district.	Community of offenders involved	Loss of life or property	Brief facts
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	10, Part III ..	31-1-47	Mohalla Lahori, Jhang.	Hindu ..	Nil ..	A bomb exploded in Manewali Lano, a purely Hindu locality in Lahori Gate. A search of the house, which is deserted, resulted in the recovery of 6 country made bombs.
2	153, Part III ..	16-3-47	Field near Veterinary College, Lahore.	..	..	Six crackers, composed of Potassium Chlorate and Arsenic were recovered.
3	20, Part III ..	22-3-47	In Mianwali Town	Hindu ..	Hindu ..	Bihari Lal brought out a bomb and took out the pin. The bomb exploded in the shop and he was injured.
4	3, Part III ..	9-4-47	City Gujranwala	Hindu ..	Hindu was injured	A Hindu was manufacturing a bomb the substance exploded and the man was injured.
5	4, Part III ..	4-4-47	City Gujranwala	Sikh ..	Sikh was injured	A Sikh was busy in preparing a bomb, it exploded and he was injured.
6	5, Part III ..	15-4-47	Gujranwala ..	Hindu suspected.	..	A big explosion took place at the foot of the walled enclosure adjacent the main gate of Gurjakh Road. A bomb was suspected to have been thrown from the opposite house of one Har Narain Shah where a number of persons had been seen at the top storey.
7	167, Part III ..	19/20-4-47	Lahore	Hindu suspected.	..	A country made bomb had exploded on top of the chabara on the second storey of the house of Ram Gopal, r/o House No. 24, Krishna Gali, P.S. Gawalmandi.

Serial No.	Special Report No.	Date of occurrence	Place and district	Community of offenders involved	Loss of life or property	Brief facts
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	47, Part III ..	21-4-47	Bazar Kharar Town Ambala.	Sikh ..	Sikh was injured	A Sikh shop-keeper was handling a bomb while it exploded and the man was injured.
9	16, Part III ..	23-4-47	Chak No. 447-G. B. Lyallpur.	Sikh ..	Sikh was injured	A Sikh was carrying a bottle containing explosive substance. The bottle burst and three persons received serious injuries.
10	25, Part III ..	28-4-47	Shahpur ..	Hindu ..	A Hindu was injured.	While handling a bomb a Hindu seriously injured himself.
11	125, Part III ..	30-4-47	Lahore ..	2 Sikhs ..	..	An incendiary bomb exploded in the locked house of Gurcharan Dass of Tharian Bhabrian on 23rd May 1947 at about 1-45 P.M. As Purdaman Singh and Joginder Singh were seen near the spot in suspicious condition so they both were taken into custody. During the course of House searches of Purdaman Singh and Harbans Singh, sons of Sunder Singh Chawala, residents of Kucha Mir Chakhan, Mohalla Sathan, Lahore, an explosion was heard from the kitchen of that house. None was found in the kitchen. A bomb exploded on the mid-night of 14/15th May 1947, on the outlet of the house of Sardar Balsher Singh of Chune Mandi.
12	55, Part III ..	5-5-47	Village Sambarial, Sialkot.	Hindu ..	2 men were injured, one of them died.	Sant Ram and Mul Raj were preparing some crackers. Unfortunately the chemicals caught fire by a cigarette as alleged by Mool Raj. Both the men were seriously injured and one of them died.

A bomb burst in the house of a Hindu doctor and injured him. On interrogation stated that he was mixing sulphuric acid when the bottle burst out. His father is a share-holder of a foundry which has been detected to have manufactured a large number of shells of Mills hand grenade type of bomb.

On the night between 19/20th May 1947 some incendiary bombs and bottles of petrol were thrown by the inmates of the Khanna, Mansions on the Railway Road, Lahore Police Station Gawal Mandi on their Muslim neighbours. As a result of the search of the Khanna Mansions 3 country made bombs, 3 explosive Golas, a jar and a bottle of some acid, a bottle of petrol and two knives were recovered.

On a search of the building 4 country made bombs were found lying in the corners of one of the rooms. Amar Nath and Mahraj were found hidden in one of the rooms. The injured men have not so far been traced.

A report of an explosion was heard in the house of a Hindu goldsmith alleged to be preparing bombs which after a few days when secret enquiries were made revealed that he certainly was involved but he remained concealed until his eyes were completely cured of injuries caused by the explosion.

An explosion occurred in Mohallah Ghaniwala, Police Station Old Kotwali, Multan.

A bomb exploded in the Mandir Block. Police rushed to the scene. 11 bombs were recovered. Suspected 4 Hindus were arrested.

A country made bomb was buried in the fields of a Muslim which was later on recovered.

A sweeper found a bomb like thing and used to hammer down a nail in his shoe. Not serving the purpose he threw it away when it exploded.

Sl. No.	Date	Place	Religion	Persons injured	Remarks
13	24. 5. 47	Multan	Hindu	1 person injured	..
14	25. 5. 47	Lahore	Hindu and Sikhs	..	..
15	26. 5. 47	Lahore Dargah, Dargah	Hindu	Two men were injured.	..
16	27. 5. 47	Multan	Hindu	..	..
17	28. 5. 47	Multan	..	..	..
18	29. 5. 47	Multan	Hindu	One H. C. and a Hindu injured.	..
19	30. 5. 47	Darya Bakhshpur	Hindu	..	..
20	31. 5. 47	Darya Bakhshpur	..	Injured a sweeper	..

APPENDIX IV—continued

S. No.	Special Report No.	Date of occurrence	Place and district	Community of offenders involved	Loss of life or property	Brief facts
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
21	236, Part III	25/26-5-47	Lahore	Some Hindus suspected.	..	A bomb was thrown on the house of one Ali Mohd. of Kucha Ghulam Hussain, Zaidar Road, Lahore, and exploded.
22	387, Part III	29-5-47	Outside Sheran-wala, Lahore.	..	Slight injury to a Muslim.	An incendiary bomb was thrown from a running train on a Muslim locality.
23	47, Part III	30-5-47	Sialkot	Not known	..	Hand Grenade bomb No. 36, G. E. W. 44, was recovered by trapline method.
24	7, Part III	31-5-47	Gujranwala	..	..	On 31st May 1947 at about 9-30 p.m. an explosion took place in Ghulam Haider Street in Abata Hukman Rai.
25	124, Part III	31-5-47	Lahore	2 Hindus	2 Muslim males and 1 Muslim female succumbed to their injuries. 1 male Muslim injured and the house caught fire.	(a) An explosion took place in a Hindu house situated in Chah Pipalwala Mohalla Sarin. It was found out that Harmandar Kumar and Kanwar Kishan, sons of Jai Kishan, Brahman, were engaged in the preparation of a bomb in a bottle when it exploded. (b) An incendiary bomb exploded on the afternoon of 31st June 1947, at about 2 p.m. in the locked house of one Kishan Bahdev of Kucha Murchi Tashin, Mohi Tibba (33rd Division), Wharoby 3 male Muslims and 1 female Muslim of that locality were injured while passing therefrom and the house also caught fire. 1 male injured was removed to the hospital where 2 males and 2 females succumbed to their injuries.

(c) An explosion took place in the Corporation garden opposite Hathi Chalo, the back of Parliament House on 10th June 1947 at about 5.30 p.m. No damage of any sort occurred.

(d) A bomb exploded on the night of 10th June 1947 at about 10 p.m. in a vacant house of Bashambar Nath, resident of Kucha Nank Phulla, Bhati Division a part of an outlet of the house was damaged but none was injured.

One Chund Lal, a Clerk of the District Board Office, while cycling on the Thornton Road near Rattan Chaudhary, Police Station Gawalmandi, threw a bomb at one Post Mohamad, a Muslim Rehri-wala, who escaped unhurt. The bomb fell on the road and exploded. Three bottles containing some poisonous liquid were recovered from Chund Lal's house.

On 11th June 1947, a bomb was exploded in the garden of the house of one Chund Lal, a Clerk of the District Board Office, while cycling on the Thornton Road near Rattan Chaudhary, Police Station Gawalmandi, threw a bomb at one Post Mohamad, a Muslim Rehri-wala, who escaped unhurt. The bomb fell on the road and exploded. Three bottles containing some poisonous liquid were recovered from Chund Lal's house.

On 12th June 1947, a bomb was exploded in the garden of the house of one Chund Lal, a Clerk of the District Board Office, while cycling on the Thornton Road near Rattan Chaudhary, Police Station Gawalmandi, threw a bomb at one Post Mohamad, a Muslim Rehri-wala, who escaped unhurt. The bomb fell on the road and exploded. Three bottles containing some poisonous liquid were recovered from Chund Lal's house.

On 13th June 1947, a bomb was exploded in the garden of the house of one Chund Lal, a Clerk of the District Board Office, while cycling on the Thornton Road near Rattan Chaudhary, Police Station Gawalmandi, threw a bomb at one Post Mohamad, a Muslim Rehri-wala, who escaped unhurt. The bomb fell on the road and exploded. Three bottles containing some poisonous liquid were recovered from Chund Lal's house.

On 14th June 1947, a bomb was exploded in the garden of the house of one Chund Lal, a Clerk of the District Board Office, while cycling on the Thornton Road near Rattan Chaudhary, Police Station Gawalmandi, threw a bomb at one Post Mohamad, a Muslim Rehri-wala, who escaped unhurt. The bomb fell on the road and exploded. Three bottles containing some poisonous liquid were recovered from Chund Lal's house.

On 15th June 1947, a bomb was exploded in the garden of the house of one Chund Lal, a Clerk of the District Board Office, while cycling on the Thornton Road near Rattan Chaudhary, Police Station Gawalmandi, threw a bomb at one Post Mohamad, a Muslim Rehri-wala, who escaped unhurt. The bomb fell on the road and exploded. Three bottles containing some poisonous liquid were recovered from Chund Lal's house.

On 16th June 1947, a bomb was exploded in the garden of the house of one Chund Lal, a Clerk of the District Board Office, while cycling on the Thornton Road near Rattan Chaudhary, Police Station Gawalmandi, threw a bomb at one Post Mohamad, a Muslim Rehri-wala, who escaped unhurt. The bomb fell on the road and exploded. Three bottles containing some poisonous liquid were recovered from Chund Lal's house.

Serial No.	Special Report No.	Date of occurrence	Place and district	Community of offenders involved	Loss of life or property	Brief facts
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
32-A	102, Part III ..	10-6-47	Lahore ..	Sikh ..	1 Muslim injured and 2 killed.	Mohammad Shafi, Nizam Din and 5 others of Nawab-Kot were proceeding to Sabzi Mandi in a cart. When they reached the round-about on the crossing of Maclagan and Church Roads near the Reserve Bank, a Sikh youngman on a cycle threw a bomb on the cart.
33	417, Part III ..	10-6-47	Do. ..	..	..	A country-made bomb exploded within a room of Dina Nath Temple situated at Old Kotwali, Lahore.
34	423, Part III ..	11-6-47	Do. ..	Hindu Gorkha.	..	On the forenoon of 11th June 1947 one Hari Singh, son of Gopal Singh, Gorkha, of District Gharwal, a chowkidar of Papar Mandi, threw a country-made bomb over the roof of the house of one Pir Bux, resident of Kucha Dogram, which exploded.
35	410, Part III ..	13-6-47	Prenagah, Lahore	Not known	..	The bomb fell at a Hindu shop but did not explode.
36	233, Part I ..	13-6-47	Rawalpindi ..	2 Sikhs ..	3 Sikh males and 1 Sikh female died. The door of the room broke into pieces.	On 13th June 1947 at about 1 p.m. a bomb exploded in house No. T-226, Mohalla Baza Dar, Police Station City Rawalpindi, resulted in the death of Gurbux Singh and Harnam Singh who were preparing the bombs. As a result of the explosion the door of the room broke into pieces and Karam Singh and Mat, Rajindra Kaur aged 84 years ⁺ present in the adjoining room were badly injured. They too succumbed to their injuries in the hospital.

37	29, Part III	..	14-6-47	Multan	..	Hindu	..	..
38	Memo. 3785-G. B., dated 14th June 1947.	..	Not known	Sheikhupura	..	Sikhs	..	2 Sikhs were injured.	A bomb exploded in the compound of Manager, Punjab National Bank. A bomb was seen earlier in possession of his son who at the time of explosion was seen going off on the carrier of a cycle which was being cycled by another Hindu gentleman. Some bottles containing white powder discovered on the roof of servants quarters.
39	537, Part III	..	15-6-47	Ganpat Road, Lahore.	..	Sikhs	..	..	While trying to prepare a bomb 2 Sikhs were injured.
40	426, Part III	..	16-6-47	Inside Gate, Lahore.	..	Hindu	..	..	A bomb resembling Military hand-grenade fell in Arya Samaj Mandir.
	Part III	..	16-6-47	Inside Gate, Lahore.	..	Hindu	..	1 child died and one woman and 4 children of unknown community injured.	An incendiary bomb fell in the enclosure of a Muslim.
	t III	..	16-6-47	Lahore	..	..	..	3 Muslims injured	Four bombs exploded in Kucha Kharasian.
		..	16-6-47	Do.	..	Hindu	..	..	A country-made bomb exploded in Mewa Mandi, Police Station Gawalmandi, Lahore, injuring 3 Muslim labourers working there.
		..	17-6-47	Sialkot	..	Sikhs	..	..	An explosion took place in a locked Janjhar situated near Rang Mahal. Assistant Sub-Inspector reached the spot and having opened the lock of the Janjhar got into it and found some pieces of clothes as well as thread of jute.
		..	18-6-47	Village Harrar, Sialkot.	..	Sikhs	..	..	A country-made bomb was buried by a Sikh in a garden which was recovered.
		of	18-6-47	Partapnagar, Lyallpur.	..	Sikhs	..	One Sikh was injured.	A country-made bomb was recovered from an attaché case of a Sikh.
					..		..		A Sikh had in his possession four bombs, one of which exploded and he was injured.

APPENDIX IV—continued

S	Serial Report No.	Date of occurrence	Place and district	Community of offenders involved	Loss of life or property	Brief facts
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
65	235. Part III of 1947.	24-6-47, 4-30 p.m.	Rawalpindi ..	..	One man died. ..	A bomb exploded in the house of Yogi Ram Nath which resulted in the death of one man.
66	502, Part III of 1947.	24-6-47	Outside Lohari Gate, Lahore.	Muslim ..	One Muslim was found dead.	Search was made in the house of that vicinity three country-made bombs and 20 bags of almonds were recovered from the possession of Din Mohammad, Proprietor, Punjab Metal Works.
67	513. Part III of 1947.	25-6-47	24, Queens Road, Lahore.	..	..	A cracker like country-made bomb exploded in a Sikh house.
68	17, Part III of 1947.	25/26-6-47, night.	Lahore ..	..	..	A bomb was thrown in the house of one Mohammad Umar of Basti Mominabad, Patti Town which exploded and another unexploded bomb was found lying there. Soon after two bottles containing some explosive liquid or some combustible substance was found in the house of Jamal Din, neighbour of this Mohammad Umar and similar bottle in the house of Buta, weaver, living in the same vicinity.
69	512, Part III of 1947.	26-6-47	Shahi Mohalla, Lahore.	..	..	A country-made bomb thrown in a house belonging to a Hindu but did not explode.
70	29, Part III of 1947.	26-6-47	Village Phullarwan, Shahpur.	Sikh	A bomb exploded in a building which was in dispute. One party had forcibly taken the possession. It is just possible that the bomb had been thrown by the other party.

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71	641, Part III of 1947.	27-6-47	Shish Road, Lahore.	Hindus and Sikhs suspected.	..	A Sikh gentleman standing near by said that the Military type of bomb was thrown from a truck carrying Hindu and Sikh clerks but the S. H. O. and Mr. Jauak Raj, D.S.P., did not agree.
72	38, Part III of 1947.	28-6-47	Montgomery	Hindu ..	One Hindu died on the spot.	A Hindu had a country-made bomb in his hand, the bomb exploded, he was seriously wounded and died on the spot.
73	30, Part III of 1947.	30-6-47	P. S. Tibbi, Lahore.	..	Shutters of a Sikh's shop damaged.	A bomb exploded before a shop.
74	31, Part III of 1947.	1-7-47	Multan	Hindu ..	A Hindu was injured.	While handling a bomb a Hindu injured himself when the substance exploded.
75	32, Part III of 1947.	7-7-47	Ram Gali, Lahore	..	..	Two rockets and a crude country-made bomb fell in a Hindu house causing no damage.
76	33, Part III of 1947.	2-7-47	Daska, Sialkot	Muslims ..	..	A country-made bomb was recovered lying in the garden of Sardar Sahib Amar Singh, Zamindar, Daska. Three bombs were manufactured by one Abdul Reuman, a licenced vendor of fire work.
77	34, Part III of 1947.	10-7-47	Ichhra, Lahore	Sikhs ..	..	Two live bombs were recovered from the possession of a Sikh.
78	35, Part III of 1947.	11-7-47	Sialkot	..	4 Muslims injured the door and the show case of the shop damaged. Three Sikhs stabbed.	Two explosions occurred, one in Main Bazar at the junction of Main Bazar and Phullanwali street and the other in Chauk Do Darwaza, 3 Muslims received injuries. These explosions were followed by stabbing of 3 Sikhs in the same bazar, one of them succumbed to his injuries.
79	114, Part I of 1947.	11-7-47	Lahore	..	9 Sikhs killed. 22 Sikhs, 2 Hindus and 1 Muslim injured.	Following the breaking of rioting murder following the explosion of a bomb in the Railway Workshop area, Police Station Dighalpur.
80	36, Part II of 1947.	11-7-47	Lahore	Sikhs ..	3 Sikhs injured ..	While testing a Land-mine bomb 3 Sikhs received injuries.

APPENDIX IV—continued

Serial No.	Special Report No.	Date of occurrence	Place and district	Community of offenders involved	Loss of life and property	Brief facts
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
82	557, Part III ..	12-7-47	Lahore	..	..	Two persons throw something with flames thereon towards the north of the house of Mehru, son of Chiragh Din, Ghumar, of Jandke Nagar, Police Station Ichhra, situated in the west of Qadir Park near Takia Baba Haji Shah and run away towards Qadir Park, the second man entered the Takia premises. A bomb with caps on two sides and with a fuse was recovered by the investigating officer from the west corner of the house.
83	554, Part III ..	13-7-47	Do.	Hindus ..	..	On 13th July 1947 at 4.30 p.m. one Channan Lal, Khatri, of Machhi Batta, Lahore, threw a bomb from the white coloured house of Haria Lal which fell over a balcony of a house and exploded there without injuring anybody. Immediately afterwards another bomb was thrown by Tara Chand from the red coloured house of the same Haria Shah which exploded without causing any damage or injury.
84	555, Part II ..	14-7-47	Do.	Hindus ..	..	At about noon on 14th July 1947 a bomb was thrown over the house of Muhammad Bashir of Rang Mahal Bazar by one Jia Lal Khatri of that locality. It struck against a wall and exploded.
85	58, Part III ..	17-7-47	Sheikhpura	..	..	Two thousand, five hundred and fifty-seven Artillery shells were recovered from Bheel Naha Bridge from under the water near Grand Trunk Road, Lahore-Gujranwala about 3 miles away from Sheikhpura.

86	573, Part III	..	Night, 17/18-7-47	Lahore	..	..	..	On the night of 17/18th July 1947 at about 11-30 p.m. towards the south of the village Pandki, Police Station Kahna Kachha, explosion occurred with a flash of light.
87	578, Part III	..	20-7-47	Sarai Amar Nath, Moghalpura, Lahore.	..	..	..	A bomb exploded in a sarai.
88	127, Part I	..	20-7-47	Lahore	..	Sikhs	4 Muslims died and 13 injured.	On 20th July 1947 at 7-45 a.m. a bomb was thrown at Sabzimandi and exploded causing death of 4 persons and injuries to 13. This incident was followed by two stabbing cases on Link Road and 3 stabbings on Wheatman Road. All were Sikhs. Four died on the spot.
89	583, Part III	..	21-7-47	Do.	..	..	..	Some unknown persons threw a country-made bomb in Kucha Ruldo Singh, Mohalla Sarin, near the house of Ralia Ram. The bomb did not explode and, therefore, no damage occurred.
90	587, Part III	..	22-7-47	Do.	..	Hindus	..	On the night of 22nd July 1947 at about 8-3 p.m. some Hindus threw a bomb towards a mosque in Kucha Dhobian, Said Mitha Bazar, Police Station Tibbi City, Lahore, which fell in the street and exploded there.
91	591, Part III	..	22-7-47	Do.	..	Hindus	..	On the night between 22nd/23rd July 1947 at about 3 p.m. 2 bombs were thrown within the compound of the Kharsian Mosque, Moti Bazar, Police Station Tibbi from the house of Gur Bux, Arora, situated nearby, out of which one exploded.
	36, Part I	..	22-7-47	Railway Punjab.	Police.	Hindus	1 Muslim and 1 Sikh died, 3 Mus- lims and 3 Sikhs injured.	On 22nd July 1947 at 17-25/hours a bomb was thrown in a III Class compartment of 108-Down train at Railway Station Moghalpura and exploded. Two Sikhs, accused, who were also injured by the explosion were arrested.
	592, Part III	..	25-7-47	Near Wazir Khan Mosque, Lahore.	..	Sikhs	..	One bomb was recovered from a Sikh who was passing through the bazaar.
9	629, Part III	..	25-7-47	Lahore	A tin bomb was thrown by somebody probably Hindu Refugees to test it when it exploded.

APPENDIX IV—continued

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Serial No.	Special Report No.	Date of occurrence	Place and district	Community of offenders involved	Loss of life and property	Brief facts
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
95	598, Part III ..	27-7-47	Dharampura, Lahore.	..	Two Hindus injured.	A bomb exploded on the Lahore-Hariki Road, and injured the occupants of a tonga.
96	602, Part III ..	27-7-47	Near Sunehri Mosque, Lahore.	Hindus ..	..	Two live bombs were recovered from 2 Hindus who were trying to enter in the Sunehri Mosque.
97	601, Part III ..	28-7-47	Lahore ..	Hindus ..	Damage to window panes and doors.	At about 9-30 a.m. on 28th July 1947 one Wazir Chand of Sutar Mandi along with 2 Hindus of the same locality threw a bomb in the house of one Muhammad Hussain Hakim of Kucha Pir Bhola, Lahore.
98	597, Part III ..	29-7-47	Do ..	Sikhs ..	..	A bomb was thrown in Hatta Miran Bux, Police Station Moghalpura, Lahore, and exploded. It was suspected that the bomb was thrown from shop of Khuller to put the Muslims into trouble.
99	610, Part III ..	30-7-47	Do ..	Hindus and Sikhs.	One Muslim F. C. was injured.	A country-made hand-grenade was thrown at the place where a Police-jacket was quartered at Chowk Turpollan, Police Station Libbi City, Lahore. The explosion resulted in injury on the hand of F.C. Muhammad Yusuf, No. 3224, of the P. A. P.
100	593, Part III ..	30-7-47	Village Dado-wali, Sialkot.	Sikhs ..	..	Recovery of a country made bomb by brannpie method from the possession of one Gurbachan Singh was made.
101	603, Part III ..	4-8-47	Sheikhpura ..	Sikhs ..	2 Sikhs	A bomb exploded in the house of one Sunder Singh of village Borwala. Police Station Sangla Hill, while it was being manufactured by 2 Sikhs named Santokh Singh and Mohan Singh.

APPENDIX IV—continued

Serial No.	Special Report No.	Date of occurrence	Place and district	Community of offenders involved	Loss of life and property	Brief facts
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
114	641, Part III of 1947.	14-8-47	Bradlaugh Hall, Lahore.	Sikh ..	..	A bomb was recovered from Bradlaugh Hall at the instance of a Sikh who had concealed it there some time before.
115	46, Part III of 1947.	14-8-47	Lyallpur ..	Hindu ..	Two Hindus were injured.	A bomb exploded in a Mandir and injured 2 Hindus. The bomb was being handled by the Hindus present there who were arrested.
116	32, Part III of 1947.	15-8-47	Behra, Shahpur..	Hindu ..	..	On information a store of Mehudi belonging to a Hindu was raided and 9 crude bombs recovered.
117	28, Part III of 1947.	16-8-47	Pattoki Mandi, Lahore.	Hindu ..	..	Explosive substance was recovered from the house of a Hindu.
118	29, Part III of 1947.	16-8-47	Ditto	Sikh ..	..	Two grenades were recovered from the house of Sikh on search.
119	48, Part III of 1947.	16-8-47	Lyallpur ..	Hindu ..	..	A bomb exploded in the residential quarter of a Hindu. It was later on known that the bomb was placed there by the owner of the house himself.
20	33, Part III of 1947.	21-8-47	Luthiani, Lahore..	..	A Muslim was injured.	A bomb exploded in the vicinity and as a result a Muslim was injured.
21	32, Part III of 1947.	22-8-47	Ditto	Sikh ..	..	One country-made bomb was recovered from a Sikh who was moving about in a suspicious manner.
122	71, Part III of 1947.	22-8-47	Village Mirpur, District Sholichpur.	Sikh ..	Three Sikhs were injured.	Three Sikhs were injured when they were engaged in experimenting bombs.

123	35, Part III of 1947.	24-8-47	Chak No. 155, District Shahpur.	Sikh ..	..	Two Sikhs were caught red-handed while experimenting a hand-made bomb.
124	37, Part III of 1947.	25-8-47	Railway Station, Lahore Cantonment.	Muslim suspected.	..	The 2 bombs were lying under an upper class carriage No. 382.
125	125, Part III of 1947.	26-8-47	Gujrat ..	Hindu ..	A Hindu injured himself.	Four bombs were being transferred from a Hindu refugee centre. The accused was climbing over the wall one of the bombs exploded and he received injuries.
126	76, Part III of 1947.	27-8-47	Rawalpindi ..	Hindu ..	..	Two Mill's hand-grenades were recovered from the house of a Hindu.
127	51, Part III of 1947.	29-8-47	Jaranwala, District Lyallpur.	Sikh ..	..	Three bombs were recovered from the possession of a Sikh.
128	656, Part III of 1947.	30-8-47	Choeng, District Lahore.	Sikh ..	..	A Military patent bomb was recovered from a Sikh.
129	650, Part III of 1947.	2-9-47	Gawalmandi, Lahore.	Hindu ..	..	Seven crackers were recovered when the goods of a Hindu refugee were searched by Gawalmandi Police.
130	254, Part III of 1947.	3-9-47	Batapur, Lahore ..	..	..	A bomb exploded in the Supervisor colony. No damage was reported.
131	651, Part III of 1947.	3-9-47	Lohari Gate, Lahore	Hindu ..	..	An exploded country-made bomb was recovered from a Hindu evacuee whose luggage was searched.
132	248, Part III of 1947.	3-9-47	Rawalpindi ..	..	..	An explosion took place in the house of the President of the Rawalpindi Municipality. He was arrested.
133	90, Part III of 1947.	4-9-47	Jhelum ..	Hindu ..	..	Thirty-five country-made bombs were recovered from an abandoned house of a Hindu.
134	166, Part III of 1947.	5-9-47	P. S. Tallagang ..	Hindu ..	..	Four bombs were recovered from a Hindu refugee who was proceeding to Wah Camp in a lorry.
135	658, Part III of 1947.	5-9-47	Lahore ..	Hindu suspected.	One Muslim was injured.	A bomb exploded in the front of a Hindu temple. A Muslim was wounded.

Serial No.	Special Report No.	Date of occurrence	Place and district	Community of offenders in No. 1	Loss of life and property	Brief facts
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
136	38, Part III of 1947.	7-9-47	Village Gohlan, Lahore.	Muslim ..	..	A hand-grenade bomb, English made was recovered from a Muslim of the area.
137	70, Part III of 1947.	9-9-47	Lyallpur	Muslim or Christian.	..	A bomb was recovered on search of his person.
138	103, Part III of 1947.	11-9-47	Jhelum	Sikh ..	..	Twelve country-made bombs were recovered from the house of a Sikh.
139	133, Part III of 1947.	17-9-47	Mandi Baha-ud-Din, District Gujrat.	Sikh ..	..	A country-made bomb wrapped in a towel was recovered from a Sikh.
140	44, Part III of 1947.	24-9-47	Multan	..	Two persons were injured.	Four persons went in a deserted Mandir to gamble there. They saw a strange object, which was a bomb, brought it out and hammered it. The bomb exploded and two of them were injured.
141	131, Part III of 1947.	25-9-47	Attock	Hindu ..	..	Five country-made bombs were recovered on the house-search of a Hindu.
142	9, Part III of 1947.	25-9-47	Multan	Hindu ..	A Foot Constable was injured.	While collecting abandoned property of a Hindu evaree, a Foot Constable was injured when a bomb exploded there.

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143	000, Page III of 1047.	30.0.47	Kohat, Lahore.	Christian..	..	Three country-made bombs were recovered from the house of a Christian.
144	007, Page III of 1047.	19.10.47	Ravi Road, Lahore	Sikh	..	A bomb was recovered from the front seat of a lorry driven by a Sikh. The driver was forced to stop the lorry, this caused damage to a tonga and a cart.
145	30, Page III of 1047.	20.10.47	Muzaffargarh	Hindu	..	A bomb exploded in the town but caused no damage.
146	133, Page III of 1047.	20.10.47	Village Attock.	Muslim	..	The house of a Muslim was searched and 1/2 bag of explosive powder was recovered.
147	05, Page III of 1047.	31.10.47	Multan	Hindu	..	A bomb which was being carried, exploded and a Hindu injured.
148	109, Page III of 1047.	06.11.47	Shikot	Hindu	..	Two country-made bombs were recovered from a shop abandoned by a Hindu.
149	106, Page III of 1047.	06.11.47	Gujrat	..	Three Muslims were injured.	A Muslim boy brought a bomb from a deserted temple thinking it a toy. The bomb exploded and three persons received injuries.
150	15, Page III of 1047.	10.11.47	Shikot	Hindu	..	A live bomb was recovered from among looted property lying in Arja Sumaj Durg.
151	15, Page III of 1047.	08.12.47	Shikot, Lahore, New Mas. Can.	..	..	Two country-made bombs were discovered from the house of a New Muslim estate.

APPENDIX V

SOME PRESS REPORTS

Illustrating Speeches by Sikh Leaders

I

The "Civil and Military Gazette", Lahore, March 1, 1947.

MASTER TARA SINGH

NEW YORK, Feb. 28—The "*New York Times*" published to-day an interview between their correspondent at Amritsar and Master Tara Singh, 62-year-old leader of the militant Sikh community, in which the latter said : "I do not see how we can avoid civil war although, of course, we should try."

Master Tara Singh, emphasising particularly Sikh fear of the Muslims, said : "There can be no settlement if the Muslims want to rule the Punjab. We cannot trust the Muslims under any circumstances."

The correspondent said that the bearded leader, whose picture was printed alongside the despatch, disclosed that Sikhs had started to reorganise their own private volunteer "army" in response to the Muslim League month-old agitation against the Coalition Ministry of the Punjab in which the Sikhs are represented.

Master Tara Singh was quoted as saying that he believed in the Sikhs' ability to keep the Muslims out of Eastern Punjab. "But why should we stop there?" he asked. "We would drive them out of the Punjab entirely."
Reuter.

2

The "Civil and Military Gazette", Lahore, March 25, 1947.

Hindu Mahasabha leaders in Calcutta and a number of leading Sikhs met Master Tara Singh yesterday and had a discussion with him on the communal situation in the Punjab.

Master Tara Singh told them that the problems of the Punjab and Bengal were similar and he assured the Bengal Mahasabha leaders of the Punjab's co-operation and help in their fight against Pakistan.

"If Bengal and the Punjab combine," he declared, "there will be no Pakistan in India".

He supported the move taken by the Hindu Mahasabha for the partition of Bengal.

On behalf of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha, Mr. N. C. Chatterjee, the President, handed over a cheque of Rs. 5,000 to Master Tara Singh for relief work in the Punjab as the first instalment of the contribution of the Bengal Hindu Mahasabha.

The Mahasabha has already sent Rs. 10,000 to Dr. Gokul Chand Narang and Mr. Keshab Chandra of Amritsar.

Later, addressing a meeting at Gurdwara Jagat Sudhar, Master Tara Singh said that the recent happenings in the Punjab were not communal disturbances. They were the beginning of a civil war in India and, because of the geographical position of the Punjab, India's fate would be decided there.

Master Tara Singh said that the Sikhs would not tolerate any Muslim-dominated Ministry in the Punjab. The Hindus and Sikhs in the Punjab would revolt against any such Ministry, though there might be heavy odds in their way.

A cheque for Rs. one lakh was handed over to Master Tara Singh on behalf of the Punjabis in Calcutta as the first instalment of their contribution for the relief of sufferers in the Punjab.

A sum of Rs. 1 lakh was presented to Master Tara Singh by Lala Karam Chand Thappar on behalf of the Punjab Hindu-Sikh Sabha, Calcutta, as the first instalment, the target being Rs. 10 lakhs. Out of this, Rs. 50,000 have been earmarked for relief work in riot-affected areas, while Rs. 50,000 to be spent at Master Tara Singh's discretion—A. P. I.

3

The "Civil and Military Gazette" Lahore, March 29th, 1947.

CRAWNPORE, March 28.—Making a fervent appeal for Hindu-Sikh unity Master Tara Singh declared here on Wednesday :

Unite as one man and nation and sink all your differences.

Harrowing tales of sufferings and devastation in the Punjab were narrated by the Akali leader addressing a public meeting in a Sikh gurdwara.

MARCH 3RD

"Let the Khalsa Panth now realise the gravity of the situation. I expect every Sikh to do his duty. We shall live or die but not submit to Muslim domination. Khalsa, rise and gird up your loins. The momentous hour has approached. May God be our guide and guard us."

MARCH 4TH

On March 4, Master Tara Singh with his Party-men came out of the Assembly Party Meeting Room, shouting 'Pakistan Murdabad' and 'Sat Sri Akal' and brandished his kirpan. He said, "The time has come when the might of the sword alone shall rule. The Sikhs are ready. We have to bring the Muslims to their senses."

MARCH 4TH

"Oh Hindus and Sikhs! Your trial awaits you. Be ready for self-destruction, like the Japs and the Nazis."

"Our Motherland is calling for blood, and we shall satiate the thirst of our mother with blood. We crushed Moghalistan and we shall trample Pakistan. I have been feeling for many a day now that mischief has been brewing in the Province, and for that reason I started re-organising the Akali Army. If we can snatch the Government from the Britishers, no one can stop us from snatching the Government from the Muslims. We have in our hold the legs and the limbs of the Muslim League, and we shall break them. Disperse from here on the solemn affirmation that we shall not allow the League to exist. The world has always been ruled by minorities. The Muslims snatched the kingdom from the Hindus, and Sikhs grabbed it out of the hands of the Muslims and the Sikhs ruled over the Muslims with their might and the Sikhs shall even now rule them. We shall rule them, and shall get the Government fighting. I have sounded the bugle. Finish the Muslim League."

GIANI KARTAR SINGH

MARCH 4TH

"This day the Crusade starts. One hundred years from to-day our yellow flags were flying on the Fort of Lahore. The same flag shall fly again."

"Our battle-axe shall decide if the Muslims shall rule."

"Sikhs shall never disgrace the name of Guru Gobind Singh."

Ch. LEHRI SINGH

MARCH 4TH

"I am a Jat, and the Jats do not talk much. They believe in action. The Jats embraced the Sikh cult to put an end to Muslim Rule, and the same Jats will once again fight with their lives."

Dr. GOPI CHAND

MARCH 4TH

"During these days, stage such demonstrations that the renegades amongst us may find it impossible to reach any settlement whatever with the Muslim League."

KRISHEN GOPAL DATT

MARCH 4TH

"Is there a man who dare snatch us from our mother and place us in the lap of Mamdot? Create such an atmosphere that the League may find it impossible to form a Ministry."

THE HINDU PRESS

MARCH 5TH

"The League Ministry shall not be allowed to live. We shall consider it our duty to use every method to make such a Ministry impossible. We warn every man and we warn every force, be that the Governor or some other power, that their impious intentions shall flounder on the rock of Hindu, Sikh and Harijans."

Milap, Vir Bharat, Partap, Parbhat, Ajit, Bande Matram, Jai Hind, Wishwa Bhandu and Hindi Milap.

APPENDIX VI

Explanatory Notes

AISSF : All-India Sikh Students Federation : A party formed by the Sikh Students in 1945 to fight for the Sikh right of self determination.

AKALIS : Militant sect among Sikh Community formed by Guru Gobind Singh—Regarded as custodians of Akal Takht, Amritsar—Reduced to a state of subjection by Mahraja Ranjit Singh. The most troublesome element among Sikhs.

AKAL FAUJ : Militant organisation formed by the Akali Party in 1947.

AKAL SAINA : Volunteer organisation started by Akalis in 1946.

AKAL TAKHT : Raised platform for placing the Sikhs' religious book, Granth Sahib, in the Golden Temple, Amritsar.

AKALI HIGH COMMAND : Board of Akali Leaders conducting the Akali Party Politics.

ALL-INDIA HINDU MAHASABHA : Communal organisation of the Hindus.

AMAR SINGH DOSANJH : Lieutenant of Giani Kartar Singh. General Secretary of the Shiromani Gurdawara Parbandhak Committee in 1946.

AMAVAS FAIR : Fair held on the day previous to the appearance of the moon.

AMAVAS : Festival celebrated by Hindus and Sikhs on the day previous to the appearance of the moon.

ARYA PRITINIDHI SABHA : Hindu organisation to plead Arya Samaj doctrine among the masses.

ARYA SAMAJ : Hindu religious sect founded by Swami Daya Nand.

ARYA VIR DAL : Hindu volunteer organisation started by Arya Samaj.

ASHUTOSH LAHIRI : Well-known terrorist of Bengal.

AMAR SINGH DOSANJH : Member, Executive Committee, Shiromani Gurdawara Parbandhak Committee and Lieutenant of Giani Kartar Singh.

BADRI DASS, R.B. : President, Rashtriya Swayyam Sewak Sangh and well known lawyer.

BAISAKHI : New Year day of the Hindus and Sikhs.

BAKHSHI TEK CHAND : Ex-Judge, Lahore High Court. Member, Indian Constituent Assembly.

- BALDEV SINGH** : Akali leader. Sikh Minister in Unionist Government. Now Defence Minister, Government of India.
- BEOPAR MANDAL** : Organisation formed by businessmen, mainly Hindus in the Punjab.
- BHAG SINGH** : Akali leader.
- BIKANER** : Hindu State in Rajpntana.
- BILASPUR** : Hindu Punjab Hill State between Simla and Kangra.
- BISHEN SINGH** : Ex-I.N.A. Officer.
- BOUNDARY COMMISSION** : Commission set up for the division of the Punjab and Bengal Provinces.
- CHAKKARS** : Sharp-edged iron ring worn by Nihangs round their turbans.
- CHHAPPAR** : Shelter made of bamboo and straw.
- DALIP SINGH DOABIA** : Akali leader and member of the Shiromani Gurdawara Parbandhak Committee.
- DARBARA SINGH KALIWAL** : Sikh leader.
- DIWAN** : Religious meeting of the Sikhs.
- DOGRA** : Hindu hill clan (Rajpnts) found in the Jammu State and Kangra districts.
- DURLI JATHAS** : Jathas first formed by Babar Akalis to commit dacoities during Babar Akali Agitation in 1922-23.
- FARIDKOT** : Sikh State in East Punjab.
- FIFTY-LAKH FUND** : Fund opened by Master Tara Singh in 1947 for fighting the Cabinet Mission proposals.
- GATKA** : Wooden stick about a yard long with a wooden grip used by volunteer organisations for fighting.
- GIANI VIR SINGH** : Member of the staff of the Sikh Missionary College. Amritsar : member of the Shiromani Akali Dal Propaganda Party.
- GOKAL CHAND NARANG, DR** : Ex-Minister. President, Hindu Mahasabha and leading businessman.
- GOPI CHAND BHARGO, DR** : Well-known Congress leader and President All-India Spinners Association. Now Prime Minister, East Punjab (India).
- GURDAWARA** : Place of worship for Sikhs.
- GURMUKHI** : Sikh language in which the Sikh Holy Book is written.
- HINDUSTAN NATIONAL GUARD** : Hindu volunteer organisation started in 1945.
- HOLA MOHALLA** : Sikh festival celebrated the day after Holi—a harvest festival.
- I.N.A.** : Indian National Army : Formed by Subhas Chandra Bose during world War II in Japan to “liberate India from foreign yoke.”
- I.O.R.** : Indian Other Ranks.

ISHER SINGH MAJHAUL : President, Darbar Sahib Committee, Amritsar. Now Minister in the East Punjab Government.

JATHA : Party or a group of persons.

JATHABANDI : Organisation of parties.

JATHEDAR : Leader of a Sikh band of volunteers.

JIND STATE : Sikh State in the Ambala Division, East Punjab.

KACHHAS : Underwear worn by Sikhs.

KALSIA : Sikh State near Ambala district in East Punjab.

KAPURTHALA : Sikh State in the Jullundur Division of East Punjab.

KARTAR SINGH : Akali leader known as "the brain of the party."

KASHAB CHANDRA : Vice-President, All-India Hindu Mahasabha.

KIRPAN : Sword carried by the Sikhs.

MAJHA : Portions of Amritsar and Lahore districts predominantly populated by Sikhs.

MARWARI : Residents of Marwar (Rajputana States), Central India, mostly businessmen.

MOHALLA : Small locality comprising a set of houses.

MURDABAD : Slogan meaning "Death to"

MUSALLI : Muslim sweeper.

NIHANG SIKHS : (literally "persons who are reckless of their lives"): Sect among Sikhs who carry spears or a big hatchet.

PANTH : The Sikhs as a class.

PANTHIC PRITINIDHI BOARD : Board, including all Sikh parties, formed in 1946 for considering the Cabinet Mission's proposals.

PATIALA : Sikh State in East Punjab.

PUGREE : Turban.

RAJ : Reign.

RSSS : Rashtriya Swayyam Sewak Sangh : Militant volunteer organisation started by the Hindu Mahasabha.

SARDAR SARMUKH SINGH CHAMAR : President, Ramgharia Central Sikh Federation, Amritsar.

SECTION 93 OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT : A section of the Government of India Act of 1935 under which the Governor could take charge of the Government of a Province for a period of six months.

SHAHIDI JATHA : Volunteer organisation of Akalis started by Master Tara Singh. A sort of a "Suicide Squad".

S.G.P.C. : (Shiromani Gurdawara Parbandhak Committee) : Organisation formed in 1920, claiming to be the sole representative of the Sikhs.

SHIROMANI AKALI DAL : Sikh organisation having complete control over Sikh places of worship.

SINGH SAHHA : Sikh organisation to protect Gurdawaras.

SOHAN SINGH JALAL USMAN : Well-known Akali leader with pro-Congress tendencies.

SUMER SINGH : Member of the Shiromani Akali Dal Propaganda party.

SWAMI SUTANTRANAND : Arya Samaj preacher.

SWARAN SINGH : Akali leader. Minister in the Unionist Government. Now Home Minister, East Punjab.

TARA SINGH : Well-known Akali leader. President, Shiromani Gurdawara Parbandhak Committee.

THANA : Police Station.

THANA COMMANDER : Commander of the area within a Police Station.

UDHAM SINGH NAGOKE : Head of Akali party opposed to Kartar Singh's group.

UNIONIST GOVERNMENT : Coalition Government formed by the Punjab Unionist Party originally founded by Sir Fazl-i-Husain.

ZAIL : Group of few villages.

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Preface

TO those who really wish to examine the problems of India's future constitution, this collection may help. It is with this object in view that I have selected a few of the well considered views in a convenient form of a booklet

There are in India today four main forces viz., the British, the Indian Princes the Hindus and the Muslims, that are concerned with the future fate and destiny of 400 millions of the peoples who inhabit this vast sub-continent. India has never been, could never be and is not a National State. To contemplate a government of such a vast sub-continent on the basis of one nation and United India, when we know that it is composed of nationalities, is to pursue the will-o'-the-wisp. The more the problem is honestly examined, the more one must be driven to the conclusion that the only solution of India's future lies in the division of India. That is why after full and careful deliberations, Muslim India through their only authoritative and representative organisation,—the All-India Muslim League resolved by their resolution in its full sessions at Lahore on the 22nd, 23rd and 24th March 1940, and laid down the basic principle that geographically contiguous units should be demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority as in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India should be grouped to constitute "Independent State" in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign, and that adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in these units and in the regions, for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them.

This is the way to achieve India's freedom in the quickest possible time and to secure independence from the control and interference of His Majesty's Government and the Parliament; but it does not rule out continuation of relations with Great Britain with necessary adjustments.

I hope that this booklet will make a considerable contribution towards the clarification of the Lahore Resolution of the All-India Muslim League which raises a fundamental issue, and I trust that every well wisher of this vast sub-continent will approach the subject free from prejudice, bias and sentiments.

Let us examine this problem also independently of the past notions which have been drilled into us by those who thought their selfish interests would be served best by preaching what does not exist nor is there any real basis for it viz., united India, one nation and one country. It is futile to indulge in such visionary ideals—El Dorado—divorced completely from realities. Statesmanship demands that we should face facts and real basis and shape our course accordingly.

Bombay,
7th October 1940.



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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

At the All India Muslim League Lahore Session March 1940.

By Mr. M. A. JINNAH.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

We are meeting today in our session after fifteen months. The last session of the All-India Muslim League took place at Patna in December 1938. Since then many developments have taken place. I shall first shortly tell you what the All-India Muslim League had to face after the Patna session of 1938. You remember that one of the tasks, which was imposed on us and which is far from completed yet, was to organise Muslim Leagues all over India. We have made enormous progress during the last fifteen months in this direction. I am glad to inform you that we have established Provincial Leagues in every province. The next point is that in every bye-election to the Legislative Assemblies we had to fight with powerful opponents. I congratulate the Musalmans for having shown enormous grit and spirit throughout our trials. There was not a single bye-election in which our opponents won against Muslim League candidates. In the last election to the U. P. Council, that is the Upper Chamber, the Muslim League's success was cent per cent. I do not want to weary you with details of what we have been able to do in the way of forging ahead in the direction of organising the Muslim League. But I may tell you that it is 'going up by leaps and bounds.

Next, you may remember that we appointed a committee of ladies at the Patna session. It is of very great importance to us, because I believe that it is absolutely essential for us to give every opportunity to our women to participate in our struggle of life and death. Women can do a great deal within their homes even under purdah. We appointed this committee with a view to enable them to participate in the work of the League. The objects of this central committee were (1) to organise provincial and district Muslim Leagues; (2) to enlist a larger number of women to the membership of the Muslim League; (3) to carry on an intensive propaganda amongst Muslim women throughout India in order to create in them a sense of a greater political conscious-

ness—because if political consciousness is awakened amongst our women, remember, your children will not have much to worry about; (4) to advise and guide them in all such matters as mainly rest on them for the uplift of Muslim Society. This central committee, I am glad to say, started its work seriously and earnestly. It has done a great deal of useful work. I have no doubt that when we come to deal with their report of work done we shall really feel grateful to them for all the services that they have rendered to the Muslim League.

We had many difficulties to face from January 1939 right up to the declaration of war. We had to face the Vidya Mandir in Nagpur. We had to face the Wardha Scheme all over India. We had to face ill-treatment and oppression to Muslims in the Congress governed provinces. We had to face the treatment meted out to Muslims in some of the Indian States such as Jaipur and Bhavnagar. We had to face a vital issue that arose in that little state of Rajkot. Rajkot was the acid test made by the Congress which would have affected one-third of India. Thus the Muslim League had all along to face various issues from January 1939 up to the time of the declaration of war. Before the war was declared the greatest danger to the Muslims of India was the possible inauguration of the federal scheme in the Central Government. We know what machinations were going on. But the Muslim League was stoutly resisting them in every direction. We felt that we could never accept the dangerous scheme of the Central Federal Government embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935. I am sure that we have made no small contribution towards persuading the British Government to abandon the scheme of Central Federal Government. In creating that mind in the British Government the Muslim League, I have no doubt, played no small part. You know that the British people are very obdurate, people. They are also very conservative; and although they are very clever, they are slow in understanding. After the war was declared, the Viceroy naturally wanted help from the Muslim League. It was only then that he realised that the Muslim League was a power. For it will be remembered that up to the time of the declaration of war, the Viceroy never thought of me but of Gandhi and Gandhi alone. I have been the leader of an important party in the Legislature for a considerable time, larger than the one I have the honour to lead at present, the Muslim League Party in the Central Legislature. Yet, the Viceroy never thought of me before. Therefore, when I got this invitation from the Viceroy along with Mr. Gandhi, I wondered within

myself why I was so suddenly promoted and then I concluded that the answer was the 'All-India Muslim League' whose President I happen to be. I believe that was the worst shock that the Congress High Command received because it challenged their sole authority to speak on behalf of India. And it is quite clear from the attitude of Mr. Gandhi and the High Command that they have not yet recovered from that shock. My point is that, I want you to realise the value, the importance, the significance of organising ourselves. I will not say anything more on the subject.

But a great deal yet remains to be done. I am sure from what I can see and hear that the Muslim India is now conscious, is now awake and the Muslim League has by now grown into such a strong institution that it cannot be destroyed by anybody whoever he may happen to be. Men may come and men may go, but the League will live for ever.

Now, coming to the period after the declaration of war, our position was that we were between the devil and the deep sea. But I do not think that the devil or the deep sea is going to get away with it. Anyhow our position is this. We stand unequivocally for the freedom of India. But it must be freedom of all India and not freedom of one section or, worse still, of the Congress caucus and slavery of Musalmans and other minorities.

Situated in India as we are, we naturally have our past experiences and particularly the experiences of the past 2½ years of provincial constitution in the Congress governed provinces we have learnt many lessons. We are now, therefore, very apprehensive and can trust nobody. I think it is a wise rule for every one not to trust anybody too much. Sometimes we are led to trust people but when we find in actual experience that our trust has been betrayed surely that ought to be sufficient lesson for any man not to continue his trust in those who have betrayed us. Ladies and gentlemen, we never thought that the Congress High Command would have acted in the manner in which they actually did in the Congress governed provinces. I never dreamt that they would ever come down so low as that. I never could believe that there would be a gentleman's agreement between the Congress and the Government to such an extent that although we cried hoarse, week in and out, the Governors were supine and the Governor General was helpless. We reminded them of their special responsibilities to us and

to other minorities and the solemn pledges they had given to us. But all that had become a dead letter. Fortunately, Providence came to our help and that gentlemen's agreement was broken to pieces and the Congress, thank Heavens, went out of office. I think they are regretting their resignations very much. Their bluff was called off. So far so good. I therefore appeal to you, in all seriousness that I can command, to organise yourselves in such a way that you may depend upon none except your own inherent strength. That is your only safeguard and the best safeguard. Depend upon yourselves. That does not mean that we should have ill-will or malice towards others. In order to safeguard your rights and interests you must create that strength in yourselves that you may be able to defend yourselves. That is all that I want to urge.

Now, what is our position with regard to future constitution? It is, that as soon as circumstances permit or immediately after the war at the latest the whole problem of India's future constitution must be examined *de novo* and the Act of 1935 must go once for all. We do not believe in asking the British Government to make declarations. These declarations are really of no use. You cannot possibly succeed in getting the British Government out of this country by asking them to make declarations. However, the Congress asked the Viceroy to make a declaration. The Viceroy said, 'I have made the declaration'. The Congress said, 'No, no, we want another kind of declaration. You must declare now and at once that India is free and independent with the right to frame its own constitution by a constituent assembly to be elected on the basis of adult franchise or as low a franchise as possible. This Assembly will of course satisfy the minorities' legitimate interests; Mr. Gandhi says that if the minorities are not satisfied then he is willing that some tribunal of the highest character and most impartial should decide the dispute. Now, apart from the impracticable character of this proposal and quite apart from the fact that it is historically and constitutionally absurd to ask the ruling power to abdicate in favour of a Constituent Assembly—apart from all that, suppose we do not agree as to the franchise according to which the Central Assembly is to be elected, or suppose we the solid body of Muslim representatives do not agree with the non-Muslim majority in the Constituent Assembly, what will happen? It is said that we have no right to disagree with regard to anything that this assembly may do in framing a national constitution of this huge sub-continent except those in matters which may be germane

to the safeguards for the minorities. So we are given the privilege to disagree only with regard to what may be called strictly safeguards of the rights and interests of minorities. We are also given the privilege to send our own representatives by separate electorates. Now, this proposal is based on the assumption that as soon as this constitution comes into operation the British hand will disappear. Otherwise there will be no meaning in it. Of course, Mr. Gandhi says that the constitution will decide whether the British will disappear and if so to what extent. In other words his proposal comes to this: First give me the declaration that we are a free and independent nation then I will decide what I should give you back. Does Mr. Gandhi really want the complete independence of India when he talks like this? But whether the British disappear or not, it follows that extensive powers must be transferred to the people. In the event of there being a disagreement between the majority of the Constituent Assembly and the Mussalmans, in the first instance, who will appoint the tribunal? And suppose an agreed tribunal is possible and the award is made and the decision given, who will, may I know, be there to see that this award is implemented or carried out in accordance with the terms of that award? And who will see that it is honoured in practice, because, we are told, the British will have parted with their power mainly or completely? Then what will be the sanction behind the award which will enforce it. We come back to the same answer, the Hindu majority would do it and will it be with the help of the British bayonet or the Gandhi's "Ahimsa". Can we trust them any more? Besides, Ladies and Gentlemen, can you imagine that a question of this character, of social contract upon which the future constitution of India would be based affecting 90 millions of Mussalmans, can be decided by means of a judicial tribunal? Still, that is the proposal of the Congress.

Before I deal with what Mr. Gandhi said a few days ago I shall deal with the pronouncements of some of the other Congress leaders--each one speaking with a different voice. Mr. Rajagopala Acharya, the ex-Prime Minister of Madras says that the only panacea for Hindu Muslim unity is the joint electorates. That is his prescription as one of the great doctors of the Congress Organisation. (*Laughter*). *Babu* Rajendra Prasad on the other hand only a few days ago says 'Oh, ~~what~~ more do the Mussalmans want?' I will read to you *his words*. He ~~says~~ referring to the minority question;

"If Britain would concede our right of self determination surely all these differences would disappear." How will our differences disappear? He does not explain or enlighten us about it.

"But so long as Britain remained and held power, the differences would continue to exist. The Congress has made it clear that the future constitution would be framed not by the Congress alone but by representatives of all political parties and religious groups. The Congress has gone further and declared that the minorities can have their representatives elected for this purpose by separate electorates, though the Congress regards separate electorates as an evil. It will be representative of all the peoples of this country, irrespective of their religion and political affiliations, who will be deciding, the future constitution of India and not this or that party. What better guarantees can the minorities have?" So according to Babu Rajendra Prasad the moment we enter the Assembly we shall shed all our political affiliations, and religions and everything else. This is what Babu Rajendra Prasad said as late as 18th March '40. And this is now what Mr. Gandhi said on the 20th of March '40, He says:—

"To me Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, Harijans, are all alike. I cannot be frivolous"—but I think he is frivolous—"I cannot be frivolous when I talk of Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah. He is my brother".

The only difference is this, that brother Gandhi has three votes and I have only one vote. (Laughter).

"I would be happy indeed if he could keep me in his pocket" I do not know really what to say to this latest offer of his.

"There was a time when I could say that there was no Muslim whose confidence I did not enjoy. It is my misfortune that it is not so today".

Why has he lost the confidence of the Muslims today? May I ask Ladies and Gentlemen?

"I do not read all that appears in the Urdu Press, but perhaps I get a lot of abuse there. I am not sorry for it. I still believe that without Hindu-Muslim settlement there can be no Swaraj".

Mr. Gandhi has been saying this now for the last 20 years.

"You will perhaps ask in that case why do I talk of a fight. I do so because it is to be a fight for a Constituent Assembly".

He is fighting the British. But may I point out to Mr. Gandhi and the Congress that you are fighting for a Constituent Assembly which the Muslims say we cannot accept, which, the Muslims say, means three to one, about which the Mussalmans say that they will never be able, in that way by the the counting of heads, to come to any agreement which will be real agreement from the hearts, which will enable us to work as friends and therefore this idea of a Constituent Assembly is objectionable, apart from other objections. But he is fighting for the Constituent Assembly, not fighting the Mussalmans at all.

He says, "I do so because it is to be a fight for a Constituent Assembly. If Muslims who come to the Constituent Assembly". Mark the words, "who come to the Constituent Assembly through Muslim votes"—he is first forcing us to come to that Assembly—and then says, "declare that there is nothing common between Hindus and Muslims then alone I would give up all hope, but even then I would agree with them because they read the Koran and I have also studied something of that holy book". (Laughter).

So he wants the Constituent Assembly for the purpose of ascertaining the views of the Mussalmans and if they do not agree then he will give up all hopes, but even then he will agree with us. (Laughter.) Well, I ask you, ladies and gentlemen, is this the way to show any real genuine desire, if there existed any to come to a settlement with the Mussalmans? (Voices of no, no). Why does not Mr. Gandhi agree, and I have suggested to him more than once and I repeat it again from this platform, why does not Mr. Gandhi honestly now acknowledge that the Congress is a Hindu Congress, that he does not represent anybody except the solid body of Hindu people? Why should not Mr. Gandhi be proud to say. "I am a Hindu, Congress has solid Hindu backing"? I am not ashamed of saying that I am a Mussalman. (Hear, hear and applause). I am right and I hope and I think even a blind man must have been convinced by now that the Muslim League has solid backing of the Mussalmans of India. (Hear, hear). Why then all this camouflage? Why all these machinations? Why all these methods to coerce the British to overthrow the Mussalmans? Why this declaration of non-co-operation? Why this threat of civil disobedience? And why fight for a Constituent Assembly for the sake of ascertaining whether

the Mussalmans agree or they do not agree? (Hear, hear). Why not come as a Hindu leader proudly representing your people and let me meet you proudly representing the Mussalmans (Hear, hear and applause). This all that I have to say so far as the Congress is concerned.

So far as the British Government is concerned, our negotiations are not concluded yet as you know. We had asked for assurances on several points, at any rate we have made some advance with regard to one point and that is this. You remember our demand was that the entire problem of future constitution of India should be examined *de novo*, apart from the Government of India Act of 1935. To that the Viceroy's reply, with the authority of His Majesty's Government, was—I had better quote that—I will not put it in my own words: This is the reply that was sent to us on 23rd December;

“My answer to your first question is that the declaration I made with the approval of His Majesty's Government on October the 13th last does not exclude.

Mark the words — “does not exclude examination of any part either of the Act of 1935 or of the policy and plans on which it is based”. (Hear, hear)

As regards other matters, we are still negotiating and the most important points are: (1) that no declaration should be made by His Majesty's Government with regard to the future constitution of India without our approval and consent. (Hear, hear and applause) and that no settlement of any question should be made with any party behind our back, (Hear, hear), unless our approval and consent is given to it. Well, ladies and gentlemen, whether the British Government in their wisdom agree to give us that assurance or not, but I trust that they will still see that it is a fair and just demand when we say that we cannot leave the future fate and the destiny of 90 millions of people in the hands of any other judge. We and we alone wish to be the final arbiter. Surely that is a just demand. We do not want that the British Government should thrust upon the Mussalmans a constitution which they do not approve of and to which they do not agree. Therefore the British Government will be well advised to give that assurance and give the Mussalmans complete peace and confidence in this matter and win their friendship. But whether they do that or not, after all, as I told you before, we must depend on our own inherent strength and I make it plain from this

platform, that if any declaration is made, if any interim settlement is made without our approval and without our consent, the Mussalmans of India will resist it. (Hear, hear and applause). And no mistake should be made on that score.

Then the next point was with regard to Palestine. We are told that endeavours, earnest endeavours, are being made to meet the reasonable, national demands, of the Arabs. Well, we cannot be satisfied by earnest endeavours, sincere endeavours, best endeavours' (Laughter). We want that the British Government should in fact and actually meet the demands of the Arabs in Palestine. (Hear hear).

Then the next point was with regard to the sending of the troops outside. Here there is some misunderstanding. But anyhow we have made our position clear that we never intended, and, in fact, language does not justify it if there is any misapprehension or apprehension, that the Indian troops should not be used to the fullest in the defence of our own country. What we wanted the British Government to give us assurance of was that Indian troops should not be sent against any Muslim country or any Muslim power. (Hear, hear) Let us hope that we may yet be able to get the British Government to clarify the position further.

This then is the position with regard to the British Government. The last meeting of the Working Committee had asked the Viceroy to reconsider his letter of the 23rd of December having regard to what has been explained to him in pursuance of the resolution of the Working Committee dated the 3rd of February and we are informed that the matter is receiving his careful consideration.

Ladies and Gentlemen, That is where we stand-after the War and up to the 3rd February.

As far as our internal position is concerned, we have also been examining it and, you know, there are several schemes which have been sent by various well informed constitutionalists and others who take interest in the problem of India's future constitution, and we have also appointed a sub-committee to examine the details of the schemes which have come in so far. But one thing is quite clear, it has always been taken for granted mistakenly that the Mussalmans are a minority. Of course we have got used to it for such a long time that these notions sometimes are very difficult to remove. The

not a minority. The Mussalmans are a nation by any definition. British and particularly the Congress proceed on the basis, "Well, are a minority after all, what do you want" "What else do the minor want," just as Babu Rajendra Prasad said. But surely the Mussalmans are not a minority. We find that even according to the British map of India we occupy large parts of this country, where the Mussalmans are in a majority—such as Bengal, Punjab, N.W.F.P., Sind and Baluchistan.

Now the question is, what is the best solution of this problem between the Hindus and the Mussalmans? We have been considering it and as I have already said, a committee has been appointed to consider the various proposals. But whatever the final scheme of constitution I will present to you my views and I will just read to you in confirmation of what I am going to put before you, a letter from Lala Lajpat Rai to Mr. C. R. Das. It was written, I believe, about 12 or 15 years ago and that letter has been produced in a book by one Indra Prakash recently published and that is how this letter has come to light. This is from Lala Lajpat Rai, a very astute politician and a staunch Hindu Mahasabai leader. But before I read his letter it is plain from that you cannot get away from being a Hindu if you are Hindu. (Laughter). The word 'nationalist' has now become the play of conjurers in politics. That is what he says :

"There is one point more which has been troubling me very much of late and one which I want you to think carefully and that is the question of Hindu Mohammadan unity. I have devoted most of my time during the last six months to the study of Muslim history and Muslim law and I am inclined to think it is neither *possible nor practicable*. Assuming and admitting the sincerity of Mohammadan leaders in the non-co-operation movement, I think their religion provides an effective bar to anything of the kind.

You remember the conversation I reported to you in Calcutta which I had with Hakim Ajmal Khan and Dr. Kitchlew. There is no finer Mohammadan in Hindustan than Hakim Ajmal Khan, but can a Muslim leader over-ride the Koran? I can only hope that, my reading of Islamic law is incorrect."

I think his reading is quite incorrect. (Laughter).

"And nothing would relieve me more than to be convinced that it is so. But if it is right then it comes to this, that although we can use

against the British we cannot do so to rule Hindusthan on British lines. We cannot do so to rule Hindustan *on democratic lines*".

Ladies and Gentlemen, when Lala Lajpat Rai said that we cannot rule this country on democratic lines it was alright but when I had the temerity to speak the same truth about 18 months ago there was a shower of attacks and criticism. But Lala Lajpat Rai said 15 years ago that we cannot do so viz., rule Hindusthan on democratic lines. What is the remedy? The remedy according to Congress is to keep us in the minority and under the majority rule. Lala Lajpat Rai proceeds further.

"What is then the remedy? I am not afraid of the seven crores of Mussalmans. But I think the seven crores in Hindustan plus the armed hosts of Afganistan, Central Asia, Arabia, Mesopotamia and Turkey, will be irresistible." (Laughter).

"I do honestly and sincerely believe in the necessity or desirability of Hindu Muslim unity. I am also fully prepared to trust the Muslim leaders. But what about the injunctions of the Koran and Hadis? The leaders cannot override them. Are we then doomed? I hope your learned mind and wise head will find some way out of this difficulty".

Now, ladies and gentlemen, that is merely a letter written by one great Hindu leader to another great Hindu leader fifteen years ago. Now, I should like to put before you my views on the subject as it strikes me taking everything into consideration at the present moment. The British Government and Parliament, and more so the British nation, have been for many decades past brought up and nurtured with settled notions about India's future, based on developments in their own country which has built up the British constitution, functioning now through the Houses of Parliament and the system of cabinet. Their concept of party government functioning on political planes has become the ideal with them as the best form of government for every country, and the one-sided and powerful propaganda, which naturally appeals to the British, has led them into a serious blunder, in producing a constitution envisaged in the Government of India Act of 1935. We find that the most leading statesmen of Great Britain, saturated with these notions have in their pronouncements seriously asserted and expressed a hope that the passage of time will harmonise the inconsistent elements in India.

A leading journal like the London Times, commenting on the Government of India Act of 1935, wrote, 'undoubtedly the difference between the Hindus and Muslims is not of religion in the strict sense of the word but also of law and culture, that they may be said indeed to represent two entirely distinct and separate civilisations. However, in the course of time the superstitions will die out and India will be moulded into a single nation'. So according to the London Times the only difficulties are superstitions. These fundamental and deeprooted differences, spiritual, economic, cultural, social and political have been euphemised as mere 'superstitions'. But surely, it is a flagrant disregard of the past history of the sub-continent of India as well as the fundamental Islamic conception of society *vis à vis* that of Hinduism to characterise them as mere 'superstitions'. Notwithstanding thousand years of close contact, nationalities which are as divergent today as ever, cannot at any time be expected to transform themselves into one nation merely by means of subjecting them to a democratic constitution and holding them forcibly together by unnatural and artificial methods of British Parliamentary Statutes. What the unitary government of India for 150 years had failed to achieve cannot be realised by the imposition of a central federal government. It is inconceivable that the fiat or the writ of a government so constituted can ever command a willing and loyal obedience throughout the sub-continent by various nationalities except by means of armed force behind it.

The problem in India is not of an intercommunal character, but manifestly of an international one, and it must be treated as such. So long as this basic and fundamental truth is not realised, any constitution that may be built will result in disaster and will prove destructive and harmful not only to the Mussalmans, but to the British and Hindus also. If the British Government are really in earnest and sincere to secure peace and happiness of the people of this sub-continent, the only course open to us all is to allow the major nations separate homelands by dividing India into 'autonomous national states'. There is no reason why these states should be antagonistic to each other. On the other hand the rivalry and the natural desire and efforts on the part of one to dominate the social order and establish political supremacy over the other in the government of the country will disappear. It will lead more towards natural good will by international pacts between them, and they can live in complete harmony with their neighbours. This will lead further to a friendly settlement all the more easily with regard to minorities by reci-

procal arrangements and adjustments between Muslim India and Hindu India, which will far more adequately and effectively safeguard the rights and interest of Muslims and various other minorities.

It is extremely difficult to appreciate why our Hindu friends fail to understand the real nature of Islam and Hinduism. They are not religious in the strict sense of the word, but are, in fact, different and distinct social orders and it is a dream that the Hindus and Muslims can ever evolve a common nationality, and this misconception of one Indian nation has gone far beyond the limits and is the cause of most of our troubles and will lead India to destruction if we fail to revise our notions in time. The Hindus and Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social customs, literature. They neither inter-marry, nor interdine together and, indeed they belong to two different civilisations which are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions. Their aspects on life and of life are different. It is quite clear that Hindus and Mussalmans derive their inspiration from different sources of history. They have different epics, their heroes are different, and different episodes. Very often the hero of one is a foe of the other and, likewise their victories and defeats overlap. To yoke together two such nations under a single state, one as a numerical minority and the other as a majority, must lead to growing discontent and final destruction of any fabric that may be so built up for the government of such a state.

History has presented to us many examples such as the Union of Great Britian and Ireland, Czekoslovakia and Poland. History has also shown to us many geographical tracts, much smaller than the sub-continent of India, which otherwise might have been called one country but which have been divided into as many states as there are nations inhabiting them. Balkan Peninsula comprises as many as 7 or 8 sovereign states. Likewise, the Portuguese and the Spanish stand divided in the Iberian Peninsula. Whereas under the plea of unity of India and one nation, which does not exist, it is sought to pursue here the line of one central government when, we know that the history of the last 12 hundreds years, has failed to achieve unity and has witnessed, during the ages, India always divided into Hindu India and Muslim India. The present artificial unity of India dates back only to the British conquest and is maintained by the British bayonet, but the termination of the British regime, which is implicit in the recent declaration of His

Majesty's Government, will be the herald of the entire break up with worse disaster than has ever taken place during the last one thousand years under Muslims. Surely that is not the legacy which Britain would bequeath to India after 150 years of her rule, nor would Hindu and Muslim India risk such a sure catastrophe.

Muslim India cannot accept any constitution which must necessarily result in a Hindu majority government. Hindus and Muslims brought together under a democratic system forced upon the minorities can only mean Hindu Raj. Democracy of the kind with which the Congress High Command is enamoured would mean the complete destruction of what is most precious in Islam. We have had ample experience of the working of the provincial constitutions during the last two and a half years and any repetition of such a government must lead to civil war and raising of private armies as recommended by Mr. Gandhi to Hindus of Sukkur when he said that they must defend themselves violently or non-violently, blow for blow, and if they could not they must emigrate.

Mussalmans are not a minority as it is commonly known and understood. One has only got to look round. Even today according to the British map of India, out of 11 provinces, where the Muslims dominate more or less, are functioning notwithstanding the decision of the Hindu Congress High Command to non-co-operate and prepare for civil disobedience. Mussalmans are a nation according to any definition of a nation and they must have their homelands, their territory and their state. We wish to live in peace and harmony with our neighbours as a free and independent people. We wish our people to develop to the fullest our spiritual, cultural, economic, social and political life in a way that we think best and in consonance with our own ideals and according to the genius of our people. Honesty demands and vital interest of millions of our people impose a sacred duty upon us to find an honourable and peaceful solution, which would be just and fair to all. But at the same time we cannot be moved or diverted from our purpose and objective by threats or intimidations. We must be prepared to face all difficulties and consequences, make all the sacrifices that may be required of us to achieve the goal we have set in front of us.

Ladies and gentlemen, that is the task before us. I fear I have gone beyond my time limit. There are many things that I should like to tell you, but I have already published a little pamphlet containing most

of the things that I have been saying and I think you can easily get that publication both in English and in Urdu from the League Office. It might give you a clearer idea of our aims. It contains very important resolutions of the Muslim League and various other statements. Anyhow, I have placed before you the task that lies ahead of us. Do you realise how big and stupendous it is? Do you realise that you cannot get freedom or independence by mere arguments? I should appeal to the intelligentsia. The intelligentsia in all countries in the world have been the pioneers of any movements for freedom. What does the Muslim intelligentsia propose to do? I may tell you that unless you get this into your blood, unless you are prepared to take off your coats and are willing to sacrifice all that you can and work selflessly, earnestly and sincerely for your people, you will never realise your aim. Friends, I therefore want you to make up your mind definitely and then think of devices and organise your people, strengthen your organisation and consolidate the Mussalmans all over India. I think that the masses are wide awake. They only want your guidance and your lead. Come forward as servants of Islam, organise the people economically, socially, educationally and politically and I am sure that you will be a power that will be accepted by everybody. (Cheers).

Text of Resolution No. 1. on future constitution of India passed at the 27th Annual Session of the All India Muslim League held at Lahore on the 22nd, 23rd and 24th of March 1940.

(1) While approving and endorsing the action taken by the Council and the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, as indicated in their resolutions dated the 27th of August, 17th and 18th of September and 22nd of October 1939, and 3rd of February 1940 on the constitutional issue, this Session of the All India Muslim League emphatically reiterates that the scheme of federation embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, is totally unsuited to, and unworkable in the peculiar conditions of this country and is altogether unacceptable to Muslim India.

(2) It further records its emphatic view that while the declaration dated the 18th of October 1939 made by the Viceroy on behalf of His Majesty's Government is reassuring in so far as it declares that the policy and plan on which the Government of India Act 1935, is based will be reconsidered in consultation with the various parties, interests and communities in India, Muslim India will not be satisfied unless the whole constitutional plan is reconsidered *de novo* and that no revised plan would be acceptable to the Muslims unless it is framed with their approval and consent.

(3) Resolved that it is the considered view of this Session of the All India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principle, viz., that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority as in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India should be grouped to constitute "Independent States" in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.

That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in these units and in these regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation

with them; and in other parts of India where the Mussalmans are in a minority adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specially provided in the constitution for them and other minorities for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them.

This Session further authorises the Working Committee to frame a scheme of constitution in accordance with these basic principles, providing for the assumption finally by the respective regions of all powers such as defence, external affairs, communications, customs and such other matters as may be necessary.

Message sent by Mr. M. A. Jinnah to the Bombay Presidency Provincial Muslim League Conference held at Hubli on the 26th and 27th May 1940.

I am extremely sorry that I am unable to attend the Bombay Presidency Provincial Muslim League Conference. Believe me I would have come if it were possible for me to do so. It may appear that I can easily come probably for a day and that I am shirking, but I hope you will accept when I say that there are very strong and cogent reasons that prevent me at this moment to undertake the journey. However my entire heart and soul is with you. I wish the conference every success most sincerely and from the bottom of my heart.

I am grateful to the organisers and to the people for their desire to see me participate in the conference. I thank them for their kind regard and affection for me, but I feel confident that under the guidance and presidentship of the Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad and other prominent leaders who are going to participate in the deliberations of the conference it will be a great success.

Let me say a few words to the Mussalmans of Southern Division. The All-India Muslim League has given the Mussalmans of India the correct lead. It has given them a flag, a platform, a policy and a well-considered program, and finally it has defined the ideal and the true goal Muslim India, by its resolution at Lahore last March, to fight for and have it at any sacrifice, for therein lies their true salvation.

I am asked, will the British agree to the basic and fundamental principles of the Lahore Resolution, namely to create Independent Muslim States in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India? Whether they agree or whether they do not, we shall fight for it to the last ditch. I know that the British politicians, press and public are still holding on to the conception of unity and one India; but I am convinced that it is a self-deception and complete ignorance of reality. At the same time I am confident that when we have successfully dispelled the false propaganda and removed the delusion under which the British public are suffering, they with their sense of sagacity and the British politicians and Government, who are capable of handling big issues in a statesmanlike manner, will not fail to meet us; and they are

sufficiently versatile to grasp the issues. If the Muslim India is united and determined and carries on a vigorous propaganda to dispell the misconceptions that have been sedulously created so far, we are bound to succeed.

The conception of unity that the Congress High Command are preaching and hanging on to it, is due to unworthy selfishness and is based on mean strategy. It is calculated and rests on the hope of exploitation of British ignorance of Indian conditions, and, in fact, they look to the British arms for the realisation and establishment of the Hindu Raj in this country; but it is unthinkable that the British arms can ever be placed at the disposal of the Congress High Command to dominate Muslim India. This attempt at gamble on the part of the Congress is bound to fail and their hopes and aspirations in this direction have already been, to a certain extent, frustrated.

It is amazing that men like Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Rajagopalachariar should talk about the Lahore Resolution in such terms as "vivisection of India" and "cutting the baby into two halves". Surely, today India is divided and partitioned by Nature. Muslim India and Hindu India exist on the physical map of India. I fail to see why there is this hue and cry. Where is the country which is being divided? Where is the nation which is denationalised? India is composed of nationalities, to say nothing about the castes and subcastes. Where is the Central National Government, whose authority is being violated?

India is held by the British Power and that is the hand that holds and gives the impression of united India and the unitary Government. Indian nation and central government do not exist. It is only the convenient imagination of the Congress High Command. It is a pure intellectual and mental luxury, in which some of the Hindu leaders have been indulging so recklessly.

We are told that our demand is the quintessence of communalism. Why? Because we propose that the Hindus and Mussalmans should be provided with their homelands which will enable them to live side by side as two honourable nations, and as good neighbours and not Hindus as superior and Mussalmans as inferior nations, tied artificially together with a Hindu religious majority to dominate and rule over Muslim India.

We are told next that we may develop extra territorial affinity. Surely, when we have constituted our national homelands and developed our territorial sovereign government it is unthinkable that we shall not guard our frontiers, just as in the middle, exist territorial Muslim States side by side. Next we are told that the scheme is impracticable; but the autonomous provinces are in existence, even under the present constitution where the Mussalmans and the Hindus dominate respectively. Their reconstitution into geographical, contiguous, homogenous independent zones is a most feasible and practicable scheme provided it is honestly examined. But this agreement can only emanate with the one and the only motive and desire, on the part of the Congress to coerce the Muslim India to submit to a central government with the Hindu majority and Hindu rule throughout the country. Our proposal is more practical than 'Ahimsa' and 'Charkha', or for the matter of that, the ideal of Ram Raj or Swaraj and complete independence of Mr. Gandhi's conception.

Further it is not detrimental either to the Hindu or Muslim interests generally, and so far as the minorities are concerned in the respective zones they will be given safeguards which will be effective, adequate and mandatory. It is the only practical solution of not only communal but political problems confronting us. Both the nations would be in a position then, to enjoy equal status, rights and privileges, free to develop their spiritual, economic, social and political life according to their own sentiments, culture, conditions and genius.

Lastly it has been said that it is not in the interest of the Mussalmans themselves. Surely, that must be left to the self-determination of Muslim India. It is the same old hackneyed argument that our rulers have often advanced when all else has failed them whenever we have pressed our demands. It does not come with any grace from the Congress High Command or the Congress Press.

Why talk of the civil war in connection with the League Resolution? It is highly mischievous. There will be no conflict and should be no conflict unless the Congress desires it. There can be no chaos and confusion unless Mr. Gandhi uses all his forces of non-violent methods to obstruct the achievement of the Muslim ideal. Our ideals presuppose Indian freedom and independence; and we shall achieve India's independence far more quickly by agreeing to the underlined principles of the Lahore Resolution than by any other method.

In his latest article which appeared in the press on the 19th of May, Mr. Gandhi says, "Should it happen otherwise and partition becomes the fashion, either we shall have partition or partitions rather than foreign rule, or we shall continue to wrangle among ourselves and submit to foreign rule, or else have a proper civil war". It is quite clear from this that Mr. Gandhi understands or ought to understand that to wrangle over the imaginary one and united India can only result in our submission to foreign rule. I pray that Mr. Gandhi's prophecy of "proper civil war" will not come, but the better minds of Hindus and Mussalmans will come round to the only alternative embodied in the Lahore Resolution.

In conclusion I appeal to the conference to organise the Mussalmans and prepare ourselves by creating complete harmony and unity amongst us, so that we may be ready to face any emergency, as and when it may arise.

The issues involve the future fate and destiny of ninety millions of Mussalmans and I am sure that Muslim India today is fully alive to the gravity of the situation both internal and external that is facing us. Our ideal and our fight is not to harm or injure any other community or interest or block the progress but to defend ourselves. We want to live in this country honourable life as free men, and we stand for free Islam and free India.

An article written by Mr. M. A. Jinnah for "TIME and TIDE" dated the 19th January 1940.

The constitutional maladies from which India at present suffers may best be described as symptoms of a disease inherent in the body-politic. Without diagnosing the disease, no understanding of the symptoms is possible and no remedy can suggest itself. Let us, therefore first diagnose the disease, then consider the symptoms and finally arrive at the remedy.

What is the political future of India? The declared aim of the British Government is that India should enjoy Dominion Status in accordance with the Statute of Westminster in the shortest practicable time. In order that this end should be brought about, the British Government, very naturally, would like to see in India the form of democratic constitution it knows best and thinks best, under which the Government of the country is entrusted to one or other political party in accordance with the turn of the elections.

Such, however, is the ignorance about Indian conditions among even the members of the British Parliament that, in spite of all the experience of the past, it is even yet not realized that this form of Government is totally unsuited to India. Democratic systems based on the concept of a homogeneous nation such as England are very definitely not applicable to heterogeneous countries such as India, and this simple fact is the root cause of all of India's constitutional ills.

Even as Under-Secretary of State for India, the late Lt.-Col. Muirhead failed to appreciate this fact for deploring the present communal tension, he expressed the opinion that the tendency on the part of both, those in power and those in opposition, was to consider that what the position now was would be the position always. He deplored the failure of Indians to appreciate an essential feature of democratic Government—namely, the majority and the minority are never permanent, and he therefore, felt that the minorities' opposition to Federation on the assumption that from the outset power would be in the hands of an irremovable majority was untenable. But he forgot that the whole concept of democracy postulates a single people, divided how-

ever much economically, and he might well have started his study of Indian problems by consulting the report of the Joint Select Committee on Indian Constitutional Reforms (Sessions 1933-34 Vol. 1. para 1):

"India is inhabited by many races.....often as distinct from one another in origin, tradition and manner of life as are the nations of Europe. Two thirds of its inhabitants profess Hinduism in one form or another as their religion, over 77 millions are followers of Islams; and the difference between the two is not only of religion in the stricter sense but also of law and culture. They may be said, instead, to represent two distinct and separate civilizations. Hinduism is distinguished by the phenomenon of its caste, which is the basis of its religious and social system, and, save in a very restricted field, remains unaffected by contact with the philosophies of the West; the religion of Islam, on the other hand, is based upon the conception of equality of man".

Perhaps no truest description of India has been compressed into a paragraph, and, without this background, no understanding of Indian problems is possible. The British people must realize that Hinduism and Islam "represent two distinct and separate civilizations" and moreover, are "as distinct from one another in origin, tradition and manner of life as are the nations of Europe".

They are in fact two different nations, and if this fact is accepted by no less an authority than the Joint Select Committee, the Muslim people have cause to question the wisdom of the British Government in forcing on India the Western system of democracy without the qualifications and limitations to which the system must be subject to make it at all suitable for Indian conditions.

If, therefore, it is accepted that there is in India a major and a minor nation, it follows that a parliamentary system based on the majority principle must inevitably mean the rule of the major nation. Experience has proved that, whatever the economic and political programme of any political party, the Hindu, as a general rule will vote for his caste-fellow and the Muslim for his co-religionist.

The British people, being Christians, sometimes forget the religious wars of their own history and today consider religion as a private and personal matter between man and God. This can never be the case in Hinduism and Islam, for both these religions are definite social systems.

which govern, not so much man's relation with his God, as man's relation with his neighbour. They govern not only his law and culture, but every aspect of his social life, and such religions, essentially exclusive, completely preclude that merging of identity and unity of thought, on which Western democracy is based, and inevitably bring about vertical rather than the horizontal divisions that democracy envisages.

Western democracy is totally unsuited for India and its imposition on India is the disease in the body politic, let us now consider the inevitable symptoms.

Led by an astute Hindu politician of the first rank, Mahatma Gandhi, the Congress (which is mainly a Hindu body) had long foreseen that in the Western form of democracy lay the fulfilment of their hopes of permanent All-India dominance. All their efforts and energies had, therefore, been bent towards securing for India a completely democratic form of Government, and they realized that the new constitution would bring their goal immeasurably nearer if it could be worked on lines chalked out by their leader and the Working Committee.

Therefore, while crying that new constitution was thoroughly unsatisfactory and totally unacceptable, the Congress decided to contest the elections held before its inauguration and as was inevitable, secured complete majorities in the six Hindu provinces of India, namely, Bombay, Madras, U. P., Bihar and Orissa. The Congress however, was as completely defeated in the five Muslim provinces namely Bengal, the Punjab, Sind, the North-West-Frontier Province and Assam, and even in the Hindu provinces failed to capture any appreciable number of seats in non-Hindu constituencies particularly Muslim electorates.

This, undoubtedly was an unsatisfactory situation for a self-styled "national" party, and the exposure of its communal character seemed imminent. Rushing to Wardha for guidance, the Working Committee took stock. What was the position? In five provinces they had been defeated, and while they held a complete majority in six, the Oppositions, weak in numbers though they were, were led by the small but solid blocks of Muslim League members.

This situation had two very unsatisfactory aspects. First, it brought out the completely Hindu composition of the Congress, and secondly, it would be difficult to ignore and override Muslim led Opposi-

tions as long as the Governors of provinces were in possession of special powers granted to safeguard minority interests.

Realizing at once that such circumstance would considerably hinder their plans, the Congress played its trump card. It refused to accept office. To the consternation of the Muslims and other minorities, overnight, the Viceroy and the Governors, became suppliant. What would the Congress have them do? What assurances did the Congress need? The answer was ready "Give us the undertaking that you will not exercise your special powers, and we will accept office". Hastily, the constitutional guardians of minority and other rights jettisoned their trust, and amidst much mutual appreciation of each other's "statesmanship", the Congress and the British Government came into political alliance.

But there was still that troublesome first point. The whole game would be up if purely Hindu Government took office, and in at least three of the six provinces not a single Muslim had been returned on the Congress ticket, and not more than one or two in the others. But what of it? Surely there must be at least one amongst the Muslim Members who would be unable to resist the bait of a ministership. They would offer the Ministership provided he signed the Congress pledge.

But would the Governor agree to this "camouflage"? What did his instrument of instructions advise? "In making appointments to his Council of Ministers our Governor shall use his best endeavour to select his Ministers in the following manner, that is to say, in consultation with the person who in his judgment is likely to command a stable majority in the legislature to appoint those persons (including, so far as practicable, members of important minority communities) who will best be in a position collectively to command the confidence of the legislature. But in so acting he shall bear constantly in mind the need for fostering a sense of joint responsibility among his Ministers."

Anxiously the Working Committee ~~analysed~~ the implications. The instructions seemed to be in two parts. In the first the Governor was instructed to use "his best endeavours to select" as Ministers persons (including, as far as practicable, members of important minority communities)..... The spirit underlying these words was to secure for important minorities a Minister who ~~was~~ ^{could} command confidence, and since there was no difference in the policy

of the Congress and Muslim League Parties in the legislatures, there was no reason why it was not "practicable" for a Muslim League member to be appointed a Minister.

But what about the last line. "But in so acting he shall bear in mind the need for fostering a sense of joint responsibility among his Ministers?" This, fortunately, could be turned to suit their purpose if the Governor was prepared to allow this second part, advisory and subsidiary to the main instuction, to overrule the first.

They had but to claim that joint responsibility was imposible unless the Muslim Minister was prepared to abide by the decisions of the Working Committee, and their point was won. Meekly the Governors acquiesced and in order to allow the Congress to deceive the public by making it appear that it was "national", and looking after the interests of the minorities by including a "representative" of them in the Council of Ministers, accepted as Muslim Ministers individuals who by no stretch of imagination could be regarded as "representatives" of the Muslim community and who by singing the Congress pledge, were responsible to Working Committee alone.

Surprised by such easy victories, the Congress became intoxicated with power. The Working Committee arrogated to itself the position of a parallel Central Government to whom the Provincial Governments were responsible. Regional dictators were appointed and the ministers were entirely subject to their orders generally and no provincial legislation could be enacted without their approval. They then proceeded to stifle even the little opposition that existed. Having dealt with the British, they now dealt with the Muslims.

An India-wide attack on the Muslims was launched. In the five Muslim provinces every attempt was made to defeat the Muslim led coalition Ministries, and by offering local political inducements, Congress Ministries came into power in at least two more provinces, the N. W. F. P. and Assam.

In the six Hindu provinces a "Kulturkampf", was inaugurated. Attempts were made to have *Bande Mataram*, the Congress Party song, recognised as the national anthem; the party flag, recognised as National flag and the real national language, Urdu, supplanted by Hindi. Everywhere oppression commenced and complaints poured in such force into

the Muslim League's Central Office that the Pirpur Committee, whose report is available, was appointed to investigate these grievances. Such overwhelming evidence was collected that the Muslims, despairing of the Viceroy and the Governors ever taking action to protect them, have lately been forced to ask for a Royal Commission to investigate their grievances.

Such was the position on the eve of the resignation of the Congress Ministries, a position over which the British people might well ponder. Is it their desire that India should become a totalitarian Hindu State, with the Central and all the Provincial Governments responsible, not to their legislatures or to the electorate but to a caucus unknown to the constitution, the Working Committee of the Congress? They may be rest assured that such will be the inevitable result if the Congress demand for the right of framing India's constitution through a Constituent Assembly is conceded.

Let us consider briefly the implications of this nebulous and impracticable Constituent Assembly. To commence with, the question arises, why is this demand made at this particular time? The answer is obvious. The war is to the Working Committee a heaven sent means of increasing its rule from over eight provinces to over the whole of India, State and Province. If the British Government are stampeded and fall into the trap under stress of the critical situation created by the war, India will face a crisis the result of which no man could prophesy, and I feel certain that Muslim India will never submit to such a position and will be forced to resist it with every means in their power.

And of what type of constitutionalist will this Constituent Assembly consist? There are in India roughly 400 million souls who, through no fault of their own, are hopelessly illiterate and consequently, priest and caste ridden. They have no real conception of how they are being governed even today, and it is proposed that to the elected representatives of such, should India's future constitution be entrusted. Is it too much to say that since the vast majority of the elected representatives will be illiterate Hindus, the Constituent Assembly will be under the influence of Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress leaders, and the constitution that will emerge will be as the Working Committee directs?

Thus, through the Constituent Assembly will the Working Committee attain its ends. British control and commerce will disappear;

Partition Way To India's Freedom

An earnest appeal to the better minds of the Hindus and other communities to give serious consideration to the Lahore resolution of the All-India Muslim League is made by Mr. Mohammed Ali Jinnah in a statement to the press on 1st April 1940.

Bait to Muslim Minorities

Replying to the critics of the League's resolution Mr. Jinnah says, "in the first place, a wrong idea and false propaganda appear to be to set in motion, in order to frighten the Muslim minorities that they would have to migrate *en bloc* and wholesale. I wish to assure my Muslim brethren that there is no justification for this insidious misrepresentation.

"Exchange of population, however, on the physical division of India, as far as practicable, will have to be considered.

"Secondly, the Muslim minorities are wrongly made to believe that they would be worse off and be left in the lurch in any scheme of partition or division of India. I may explain that the Mussalmans, wherever they are in a minority, cannot improve their position under a United India or under one Central Government. Whatever happens they would remain a minority. They can rightly demand all the safeguards that are known to any civilised government to the utmost extent. But by coming in the way of the division of India, they do not and cannot improve their own position. On the other hand, they can, by their attitude of obstruction, bring the Muslim homeland and six crores of the Mussalmans under one government, where they would remain no more than a minority in perpetuity.

Some Old Problems Again

"It was because of the realisation of this fact that Mussalman minorities in the Hindu India readily supported the Lahore resolution. The question for the Muslim minorities in the Hindu India is, whether the entire Muslim India of nine crores should be subjected to a Hindu majority *raj* or whether at least the six crores of the Mussalmans

residing in the areas where they form a majority should have their own home land, and thereby have an opportunity to develop their spiritual, cultural, economic and political life, in accordance with their own genius, and shape their own future destiny, at the same time allowing Hindus and others to do likewise. Similar will be the position of the Hindus and other minorities in the Muslim homelands. In my opinion, after the present tension created by the ambition of one community dominating over the other and establishing supremacy over all the rest is eased, we shall find better understanding and goodwill created all-round. The division of India will throw a great responsibility upon the majority in its respective zones to create a real sense of security amongst the minorities and win their complete trust and confidence."

Wooing The Sikhs

Mr. Jinnah next dealt with the apprehensions created amongst the Sikhs by the Lahore resolution and said: "I always have had an admiration and respect for the Sikh community, and I want my Sikh friends to study thoroughly the constitutional problem of India as it stands to-day. I am sure that they would be much better off in the North-West Muslim Zone than they can ever possibly be in a United India or under one Central Government for, under one Central Government their voice would be negligible. The Punjab, in any case, would be an autonomous sovereign unit. And after all, they have to live in the Punjab. It is obvious that whereas in a United India they would be mere nobodies, in the Muslim Homeland constituted of the Western Zone of the Federated Autonomous States, including the Autonomous Sovereign State of the Punjab, the Sikhs would always occupy an honoured place and would play an effective and influential role."

Pakistan and Indian States

Dealing with the Indian States, Mr. Jinnah said "the only important states which matter, are not in the Eastern, but in the North Western Zone. They are Kashmere, Bahawalpur, Patiala, etc. If these States willingly agree to come into the federation of Muslim Homeland, we shall be glad to come to a reasonable and honourable settlement with them. We have, however, no desire to force them or coerce them in any way."

Relations with Britain

In regard to the relationship of the Muslim Homeland with Great Britain, Mr. Jinnah referred to the Lahore resolution which said: "This session authorises the Working Committee to frame a scheme of constitution in accordance with these basic principles, providing for the assumption finally by the respective regions of all powers such as defence, external affairs, communications, customs and such other matters as may be necessary." Continuing, Mr. Jinnah said "as regards other zone or zones, that may be constituted in the rest of India, our relationship will be of an international character. An example already exists in the relationship of India with Burma and Ceylon."

Reply To Congress Critics

Proceeding Mr. Jinnah said: "One set of criticisms has come from some of the Congressite Mussalmans. Obviously they are speaking in their master's voice, and I do not think anyone need worry about it.

"As to the criticism of some of the Congress leaders, it is a parrot-like cry and thoughtless. The only person who has made any serious attempt to criticise the Lahore resolution is Mr. Rajagopalachariar. He, however, judges others by his own standards of political integrity when he said that we mean what we do not say, namely, "what Mr. Jinnah desires is a fuller amplitude for the so-called Muslim provinces to work out their progress without being hampered by a Central Government working under conditions necessitated by the composition of India's population and the play of political forces at such a centre. Surely, he can ask for many things other than the cutting up of India into two parts, based on a medieval conception in order to attain this laudable desire."

Mr. Rajagopalachariar's arguments of dividing the baby and the parable of King Solomon is gone beyond the zenith of his intellectual powers. This analogy he wants to apply to our proposals.

Surely, India is not the sole property of the Congress, and if the real mother was to be discovered, it would be the Dravidians and still further the Aborigines. It would neither be the Aryan nor the Mussalman. The Aryan claim to India is no better than that of the Mussalmans, except that they were earlier arrivals in point of time. What, however, is most astounding is Mr. Rajagopalachariar's talk when he says: "Indeed not

with the same interest the progress of non-Muslim countries as he watches that of a Muslim country. His first concern is with the rise of Islam as a political power in the world. This ambition he conceives, not with a view to suppress the liberties of other nations, but simply because he feels that the establishment of the political power of Islam will bring about a better standard of justice and equality between nations and individuals.

He still believes that if Islam had been the dominant religion in Europe, the world would not have seen the rise of a narrow and aggressive form of nationalism which has dragged the whole world into a state of chaos and disorder.

Associations in the Past

The Hindu, on the other hand, has no ultra-territorial interests. All his activities are confined to India and he has no real cultural or religious link with any other country beyond India. The fate of China or Japan cannot be of such interest to a Hindu as that of Turkey or Afghanistan to a Muslim.

Differences in political aspirations in the past, when Muslims and Hindus assumed the role of the rulers and the ruled, have further deepened the political divergence of the two communities. The Muslim still looks with fervour to his glorious past and is only interested in independence in so far as it can assist him directly in regaining the political power lost by him. The Hindu, too, breathes life into the ancient past when he dominated the continent of India and enjoyed undivided political power.

Conflict of Economic Interest

Economically, too, there is a clash between the interests. There are certain occupations and the Muslims have been completely shut out. In general is a monopoly of the Hindu in grain and cloth markets in particular. Hindus. Even in villages which the Hindu holds a favoured position. Muslim middle class in cities has to work as labourers or to seek petty jobs in

class is prosperous and flourishing and controls all the internal and external trade of the country.

The Muslims cannot look upon this state of affairs as a *fait accompli*. Nor can they accept for ever the condition of being a debtor community. All their hard-earned savings passed into the hands of the Hindu money-lender in the form of the interest, which in the Punjab alone is ten times the land revenue of the Province.

“Peaceful Penetration” of Hindus

Another danger to which Muslims are exposed is the peaceful penetration of the Hindu shop-keeper in purely Muslim areas. The Hindu has no landed interests in the Western Punjab, the Frontier Province and Sind, and yet he forms a majority in all the towns and dominates the entire public life. This is all due to the fact that the Hindu was the first to gain by the spread of British rule in India while the Muslim, who has lost all political power, has still not been in a position to accommodate himself to changed circumstances.

This alone accounts for the fact that in a city like Bannu which lies in the heart of a Muslim district, the Hindus form over 70 per cent of its population and monopolise the entire trade and all the professions. Of the 2,000 odd shops in the city, there are hardly a dozen Muslim shops.

Punjab Muslims Parallel with Turks

The economic condition of the Muslims in the Punjab is exactly like that of the Turks in their homeland of Asia Minor prior to the inauguration of Modern Turkey. Though the Turk had ruled over Asia Minor for over 800 years, and formed the majority of its population, yet economically he stood no comparison with the subject peoples like the Greeks, Armenians, and Jews. All internal and foreign trade and all the learned professions, such as medicine, teaching and banking, were monopolised by non-Turkish races. The Turk, like the Punjabi Muslim, was either a peasant sunk deep in debt or was content to work as a soldier or a Government servant.

Nothing but a revolution was needed to change the economical condition of the Turks. This was accomplished by Mustapha Kemal, who banned almost all professions to Jews, Armenians and Greeks,

stopped the latter's further immigration into purely Turkish villages and cities and started with State help various commercial enterprises to encourage the Turk to undertake banking and trading. Now in course of 25 years the Turk is commercially most efficient in his homeland, and the Turkish peasant is no longer in the grips of the Armenian or Jewish moneylender.

Under Congress Raj

Can we expect this of a future Indian Government under Congress domination—that it will try to bring the Muslims into line with the Hindu community, which at present holds the sole monopoly of trade and commerce in cities and villages and possesses wealth and influence out of all proportion to its numerical strength? The interests of the Muslim peasant as well as of the Muslim middle class man in the city directly clash with those of the Hindu money-lender and shop-keeper. The Muslim cannot trust that the very community, which is at present responsible for their economic enslavement, will do justice to them the moment it gains political power. On the contrary these fears are intensified by the realisation that a concentration of political and economic power in the hands of a hostile community will make their condition politically and economically worse than at present.

Divergence in Social Systems

Socially Hindus and Muslims present two entirely different systems. The Hindu is caste-ridden and believes in certain social customs and practices which have become engrained in his daily life by the lapse of centuries. High-caste Hindu cannot dine or marry in a low-caste Hindu family. Modern education has no doubt taught the Hindu to protect the interests of Harijans and depressed classes but still he is not prepared to assign an equal status to the latter. He is still opposed to separate electorates and safeguards for Harijans and recognises no special privileges or rights for them except what they can claim as part of the Hindu Polity.

Now it is common knowledge that the working of Hindu social system in the past has led to the concentration of all economic and social power in the hands of high-caste Hindus. This cannot be said of Islam. The Muslims believe in the equality and fraternity of all. Inter-dining and inter-marriage are not obstacles among the various

and will ever be on the look out for a favourable opportunity to secede from them.

Military Traditions

I reply these arguments one by one. As to the first that the Muslim States will be helpless against Hindu India which will isolate them from each other, the simple reply is that mere numbers do not count in the defence of a modern State. The fate of China with its teeming population of 400 millions is a clear instance in point. So far as military traditions go, Muslim areas, particularly the provinces of the North-West, are far stronger than Hindu India. This fact is even admitted by Mr. Gandhi, who says in a recent article in the "Harijan" that if the British leave India to-day, the Punjabis and Gurkhas will overrun the country. Besides the Muslim States will enter into a permanent alliance with other Muslim countries of South-Western Asia and will thus preserve the balance of power evenly between Hindu India and Muslim States.

The second argument that the proposed Muslim States will be financially poor to defend their frontiers ignores the fact that the North West Frontier will lose all importance once a Muslim State is established in the North-West. The tribesmen and the people beyond the North West Frontier are all Muslims. They will lose all religious and political fervour for Jihad against non-Muslims, once they find that they have to reckon with their brothers in Islam. If the frontier between Afghanistan and Persia or that between Persia and Turkey can be easily defended by comparatively small armies, there is no reason why the same should not be possible in case of the frontiers between Afghanistan and Muslim North-West.

Again the resources of the new Muslim State in men and money will be far stronger than those of Afghanistan or independent tribes beyond the Frontier Province and hence it will experience no great difficulty in keeping peace and order on its side of the frontier.

Industrial Development

The third argument that the Muslim States will require capital from Hindu India to be developed industrially is entirely wrong. A modern country, which can maintain peace and order within its

bounds and can guarantee payment of debt, can invite capital from foreign countries. The example of Turkey can be easily followed. If the State Government in Turkey can patronise and finance industries with the help of foreign capital, the Muslim States in India can adopt similar methods.

The Muslims do not want that they should lose the major share of profits in business by leaving all initiative and control in industrial development to Hindu capitalists of Hindu India. They will rather prefer that the State should organise and promote industries and find work for the large number of workless people in cities and villages.

Non-Muslim Minorities

The fourth argument that the non-Muslim minorities will be a source of constant danger to the stability of Muslim States will lose all importance in face of the preponderance of Muslim voice in the Government. Both in the North-West and the North-East, with adjustments in frontiers, the proportion of the Muslim population will be raised to 80 per cent and the minorities will be reduced to 20 per cent. These minorities will be given full protection in regard to their religion, language and culture like the Muslim minorities in Hindu India, and will no longer cause unnecessary annoyance to Muslim governments for fear of provoking Muslim minorities in Hindu India to similar action.

As a matter of fact the existence of minorities both in Hindu India and Muslim States will make it possible for them to adopt a common line of action and to restore confidence among the minorities which will thus be finally reconciled to their lot.

Nationalism Is No Solution Of Hindu-Muslim Problem

By M. R. T. in The Eastern Times Febr. 16-1940.

Mr. Gandhi in a recent article in the "Harijan" criticises Mr. Jinnah thus: "His picture of India as a continent containing nations counted according to their religions, if it is realised, would undo the effort the Congress has been making for over half a century. But I hope that Qaide-Azam Jinnah's opinion is a temporary phase in the history of the Muslim League. Muslims of the different provinces can never cut themselves away from their Hindu or Christian brethren. But Muslims and Christians are converts from Hinduism or are descendents of converts. They do not cease to belong to their provinces because of change of faith. Englishmen who become converts to Islam do not change their nationality".

A close and careful study of the above, leads a Muslim to think that Mr. Gandhi and other Congress nationalists of his view, always have in their mind the Western type of nationalism, which does not exist in India and which the Muslims will never accept.

Nationalism, pure and simple of the Western brand is a creation of special circumstances in Europe which presuppose the existence of a homogeneous people within the bounds of a country. It has proved a disruptive force in countries which have several distinct national groups. The Austro-Hungarian, Turkish, and Russian Empires before the last great War were such countries with different nationalities. The growth of nationalism instead of binding together and unifying these countries, weakened them and was finally responsible for their break up.

Austria-Hungary

In Austria-Hungary, where the people were allied together by a common religion, being Roman Catholics, and had lived together in peace and amity as members of a common empire, which in the past had acted as a strong bulwark for Christendom against the rising tide of the Turk, the growth of nationalism hastened the movement for separation. In

vain the House of Hapsburg the then oldest reigning dynasty of Europe, had attempted to fuse the various peoples into a common national whole.

Common religion, common system of law, common past traditions, common social customs and above all a common standard of education and culture failed to bring about unity and national consciousness. Even the new danger threatening the empire, in the rise of an aggressive Russia in the East with her eyes on her northern provinces, nor again the common economic interests for expansion of trade and promotion of industries could appeal to the people to prefer unity to disintegration.

The collapse of the Empire at the end of the Great War gave birth to a tremendous outburst of nationalism among all its national groups. Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary and Austria became independent national states, while parts of the Dual Monarchy were merged in the succession States of Poland and Yugo-Slavia and the old States of Rumania.

It is evident to a student of history that the problem of Austro-Hungarian Empire could be tackled in a different way as well. The various national groups could have been federated so as to form a federal State with complete provincial autonomy to federating parts. The ground work for this already existed in the very name of the empire which was known as a Dual Monarchy, with Austria and Hungary as its main parts. The various peoples, Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, Croats, Slavonians, Rumanians, Magyars and Germans, all enjoyed a sort of provincial autonomy and were represented in the central parliaments to Vienna and Budapest. The empire was united for defence and foreign affairs under the House of Hapsburg but for all other purposes both Austria and Hungary enjoyed complete independence.

The advantages for federation far outweighed those for separation, but the various peoples preferred the maxim. "Better a bad government by your own people than a good government by other." The people were encouraged in their demand for separation by the principle of self determination which had been accepted in the Versailles Conference for settlement of claims of minorities living in compact areas and capable of forming independent States.

Turkey

* The Turkish Empire too was a collection of many nationalities. Nationalism proved a disruptive force here too. In vain did the Young

Turks try to create a national consciousness among the various peoples. They set up a Committee of Union and Progress and promised equal rights to Christians, Jews, and other non-Turkish races.

The movement for unity at first spread among all classes of people. The Jew and the Greek fraternised with the Turk and the first named financed the movement. In the first national parliament of Turkey, the representatives of all religious and racial groups were summoned, and a new constitution was proclaimed which promised protection to religion, language and culture as well as full share in the enjoyment of political and civic rights to Muslims and non-Muslims alike. The experiment however, failed as it was bound to fail

The Arabs, the Armenians, the Greeks, the Kurds and other minorities kept on intriguing for separation and did not rest content till Turkey had been reduced to its original homeland of Asia Minor where the Turks formed a majority of the population. Here, too, the minority problem confronted Turkey. Besides 6½ million Turks in Asia Minor, there were million each of Greeks, Armenians and Kurds. It was the presence of these minorities that was primarily responsible for the decision of the Allies to hand over Smyrna and its hinterland to Greece and to create an independent state of Armenia in the east. It was not until the Greeks and Armenians had either been driven or exchanged in population that Turkey became a truly homogenous state.

Even now Turkey has to face trouble from time to time in the Eastern border where a million Kurds live.

It is interesting to note here that Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru feels sympathy for the poor lot of these Kurds and wishes to see an independent Kurdish state. Beyond India, a Congress nationalist is prepared to support all movements for separation and independence, though they may stand no comparison with a similar movement which the Indian Muslims are sponsoring under Pakistan and other national schemes, but inside India he will deny the existence of any but a single nation.

In a resolution passed by the Bengal Congressites under the guidance of Bose Brothers, the Congress invoked the principle of self-determination as applied in the case of Sudetan Germans and claimed its application for India as a whole. One could easily understand the sympathy of Congress leaders with the Sudetan Germans who persisted in their

This shedding of crocodile tears for the cause of Kurdish independence does not impress an Indian Muslim. The Kurds are an insignificant minority of a million in Turkey; they do not occupy a compact area with distinct geographical limits; they are assured of full political and economic rights in the Turkish State. Their religion and culture stand in no danger in Turkey as the Turks are Muslim by religion.

One thing however is clear. If the movement for Kurdish independence can be termed a modern national movement as Pt. Jawaharlal believes it to be, then the separation movement of Indian Muslims is a thousand times more a national movement. The lot of Indian Muslims will be far worse than those of Kurds if they were forced to accept, like the Kurds, the idea of a single composite nationality.

Russia

Now I turn to Russia. Here too, growth of nationalism at first coincided with the policy of Russification which the Czars had encouraged but in course of time disruptive tendencies arose. The peoples on the Western border, Finns, Esthonians, Latvians, Lithuanians and Poles, clamoured for independence and finally succeeded in breaking off on the collapse of the Russian Empire. Those still left on the old Russian Empire, could no longer find any inspiration in the old idea of nationalism and developed a new cult, popularly known as Bolshevism, to unite the heterogenous elements of the Russian population. In fact the Bolshevik success was entirely due to their open discouragement of nationalism. The new appeal was based upon the common interests of the workers and peasants on all parts of the world.

The present-day Soviet Russia is still not a national State in theory, nor do the various peoples there have any faith in the idea of a single composite nationality as the Congress propagates in India. The Muslims in Turkestan and Trans-Caucasia could never have accepted the Soviet regime if the Bolshevik leaders had laid emphasis on nationalism.

The Soviet Constitution recognises all the national groups, have given them complete provincial autonomy in their respective

areas and has constituted a Council of nationalities in the Centre to safeguard the interest of various groups. Further the constitution recognises the right of each group for separation if its interests so demand. Despite however, the protection of the cultural and economic interests of the various minorities in Russia, they are not yet contented.

The Muslims, who form a national group of 18 millions in Central Asia and are one by language, race and religion, have been split up into five small Soviet republics to counteract the growth of nationalism and movement for separation among them. The Russians still are united under the Russian Federated Republic, which claims more than 75 per cent of area and population. It is this artificial device which has made the working of Soviet machinery smooth and possible. Out of the 11 constituent republics of Soviet Russia, six are Muslim republics but these are helpless against the Russian Federated Republic as they have not so far been allowed to merge into a single united republic. From the examples of the Austro-Hungarian, Turkish and Russian Empires, it is obvious that nationalism, instead of proving a unifying force, has been disruptive in its effect. The separatists in these countries could not be condemned as being narrow and communal in their outlook, nor could the idea of a common nationality be enforced upon them against their wishes.

Religion and Nationhood

The lesson of past history is that nationalism has failed to unite a people who are divided by race, religion or historic traditions. We are most often acquainted with the growth of nationalism on the basis of race or historic traditions and have consequently ignored religion as also one of the decisive forces in forming a nation.

Our misunderstanding is primarily due to the fact that the Western nations are all one by religion and are united by a common outlook on life. Religion has ceased to be a force for them as it no longer conflicts in their case with other religions.

There was, however, a time when religion was a decisive force in Europe. In Spain, the Muslims and Christians lived for over

700 years together but they were only welded into a common nation when Muslims had either been forcibly converted or driven out.

In the various Balkan States, Muslims and Christians lived together for centuries under Turkish rule, but with the rise of modern nationalism, Muslims were deprived of all political share in the new States formed and assigned the status of minorities. Similar was the fate of Muslims in Russia.

Nationalism in pre-War Russia was understood to mean a national State of Christian Russians who were to dominate the Muslims and Jews as subject people. Europe does not furnish a single example where in the past attempts were ever made by a Christian State to admit the Muslims to equal political rights, even though they were of the same stock and blood as the native Christians were. Thus where Europe has failed despite its professions of liberalism and toleration to furnish a single example of a composite Christian-Muslim State coming into existence, India with its diversity of races, religions and languages has no chance to develop into a national State. Europe missed three clear opportunities of welding together Christian and Muslims in Spain the Balkan States, and Russia and on each occasion the aggressors were the Christian nationalists who had made nationalism a close preserve of Christianity.

Even now where conflicts of religion are common, nationalism has failed to make its way. The Kurds and Armenians belong to the same stock and speak the same language, yet it is religion alone which has kept a dividing line between two communities. The Irish in Roman Catholic Ireland and those in Ulster are only divided into two separate States on account of religion. The Muslim Bulgars in Bulgaria form more than 10 per cent of the population and yet they have not been reconciled with the Christians rule and would even now welcome a return to Turkey if that were possible for them. Thus religion is always the strongest form in determining a national consciousness wherever representatives of two different religions come into contact in a fairly large area and have distinct culture, history and traditions of their own.

Europe for the most part never saw the clash of religions, so it was possible for it to develop racial or territorial States. In Southern Europe where the possibility of Christians and Muslims developing into composite nations presented itself, in Spain, the Balkan Peninsula, and parts of Italy, the aggressive wave of Christian nationalism suppressed it once for all, and all Muslim influence was finally extirpated.

Here it is necessary to refute an objection as to whether change of religion implies change of nationality. If nationality is determined by religion, change of religion certainly implies change of nationality. But if in country like England, it is determined by racial and other historic factors, then change of religion may not imply a change of nationality as understood in the west, but it does imply a fundamental change if the new convert is a Muslim.

An Englishman by accepting Islam does find an essential change in his complete outlook on life. He is no longer permitted to intermarry or even interdine with his Christian countrymen if he suspects pork being served. He cannot transfer his property to a Christian nor can he support his Government if it carries on a war of aggression against a Muslim State. He has far greater sympathies for Muslims of other parts of the world than even his own relatives who are Christians. He may under necessity be called an Englishman, but in reality he is the member of a higher nation, the Islamic Brotherhood which recognises no geographical limits or the bars of colour, race or language.

Mahatma Gandhi is misinformed in supposing that a Muslim can be persuaded or compelled to subordinate the interests of his community, which has a distinct culture and outlook on life, to those of an aggressive kind of nationalism which in practice means the domination of Hindu culture and thought.

In India, there is not merely the clash of religions in the narrow sense of the word, there is clash in every aspect of life, political, social, cultural and economic.

Before closing this article, we quote here from the Simon Commission Report, which thus describes Hindu-Muslim differences :

"It would be utter misapprehension to suppose that Hindu-Muslim antagonism is analogous to the separation between religious denominations in contemporary Europe. Differences of race, a different system of law, and the absence of inter-marriage constitute a far more effective barrier. It is a basic opposition manifesting itself at every turn in social custom and economic competition as well as in mutual religious antipathy."

ONE-NATION MYTH EXPOSED

Rejoinder to Mahatma Gandhi's Article in "Harijan"

By M. R. T. in 'The Eastern Times' April, 12 1940.

Mr. Gandhi in a recent article in the "Harijan" blows cold and hot in the same breath. He admits that "the Muslims must have the same right of self-determination that the rest of India has. We are not present a joint family. Any member may claim a division." His inconsistency, however, becomes apparent when he assumes the role of a high prophet for Muslims and calls the two-nation theory an untruth. To repeat his own words. "But I do not believe that Muslims, when it comes to a matter of actual decision, will even want vivisection. Their good sense will prevent them, their self-interest will deter them and their religion will forbid the obvious suicide which partition would mean. The two-nation theory is an untruth." In the end, he warns the Muslims against "the untruth that is being propagated amongst them." He says, "This warning is a duty, because I have faithfully served them in their hour of need and because Hindu-Muslim unity has been and is my life's ambition."

Religion vs. Nationality

In this article an attempt will be made to examine the arguments advanced by Mr. Gandhi to prove how far they are based on real facts. The first argument is that "the vast majority of Muslims of India are converts to Islam or are descendents of converts. They did not become a separate nation as soon as they become converts." What Mr. Gandhi means to say in plain words is that change of religion does not imply change of nationality. According to him, people observing different religions can remain members of the same nation.

He has, however, lost sight of two important facts. Firstly, the conception in the relations between religion and nationality differs in the East from that in the West. Religion is considered not merely a religion, in the strict sense as understood in the West, by a Hindu or a Muslim, but a complete social order which affects all the activities of life. In Islam, religion is the motive spring of all actions in life.

A Muslim of one country has far more sympathies with a Muslim living in another country than with a non-Muslim living in the same country.

The Prophet of Arabia (blessed be his soul) loved Balal, an Ethiopian, more than his own kindred who had not yet accepted Islam. Even now an Indian Muslim feels far more stirred by the distress of his Muslim brothers beyond India than by a similar calamity affecting non-Muslims in India. This does not imply that Islam teaches indifference towards other religions, but it is simply a proof of the brotherhood of Islam wherein all those holding similar views develop an identical interest in the future outlook on life and consequently are moved to feel a genuine sympathy in the welfare of Muslims in general.

Effect of Conversion to Islam

How this force of religion can be exercised in opposition to the idea of nationality can be explained by a typical example. A German nationalist will take pride in the exaltation of his own country and will spare no efforts to advance its interests, though they may directly result in doing harm to another country. But if he becomes a convert to Islam, and he is true to his religion, he will have to modify this conception of nationality so far as his relations are concerned with Muslims. If his country wages a war with a Muslim country for aggressive purposes, it shall be his religious duty, no matter what the dictates of nationality may demand, to oppose his country as far as it lies in his power, and to withhold all active support from it. Thus the mere conversion of a German to Islam tremendously affects his relations with the Muslims in general.

Mr. Gandhi should know that in cases where there is a conflict between duty towards religion and duty towards nation, a Muslim will always prefer the former and discard the role of a nationalist in the broader interests of Islam. A Muslim cannot reconcile his allegiance permanently to the theory of a single nation wherein he is required to merge his identity and lose contact with his religion as a dominating force or with the Muslims in other parts of the world.

Religion Real Basis for Nationality

The second point which Mr. Gandhi has ignored is that religion alone is a cohesive force for the idea of nationality. In countries where the allegiance of people is divided on the basis of religion, the idea of

single nationality has never finally succeeded. In Germany, the Christians and Jews have lived together for centuries and yet they have failed to weld together into a single nation. The Nazis have only recently discovered a remedy, by concentrating Jews in a separate homeland in the central part of Poland.

The Muslims and Christians lived together for more than 800 years in Spain, and yet the idea of a single nationality could not be developed. It was only when the Muslims had been driven out of the country or had been forcibly converted to Christianity that the modern Spanish nation came into existence.

Very often in the fold of the same religion, marked differences in views have led to the division of a nation into two or more parts. In Ireland the Protestant Ulster men and the Roman Catholic Irishmen do not wish to form a common national State. The Dutch and the Belgians are very small peoples who could easily be united into a single nation but it was mainly the religious differences that led to the final separation of the two countries. The Belgians are Roman Catholic by religion and their neighbours, the Dutch, are Protestants. The present conception of nationality in Europe is really based upon the idea of a common Christian religion.

European Nations are Christian by Religion

Europe has so far not tolerated the government of any other nation unless it be Christian by religion. Islam came into contact with Christians in various parts of Europe and established successful governments in Spain, South Italy and Sicily, the Balkan Peninsula and Southern Russia. So long as the aggressive wave of Christian nationalism was held in abeyance, the Muslims managed to preserve their religion and culture, but with the regeneration of Modern Europe in the 16th century, a general crusade began against Muslim settlers in all parts of Europe. The Pope, as head of the Roman Catholic Church, supported the Spanish Inquisition and other measures for the extirpation of Muslim influence from Europe, while the Czars of Russia as heads of the Greek Catholic Church drove out Muslims from the Southern provinces and exercised a reign of complete tyranny over those Muslims who were still left under Russian rule. In fact the Muslims were never considered as equal in status to Christians and were deprived of the common rights of citizenship. Thus where Christian Europe has failed,

in spite of its professions of liberalism, to evolve a common nationality with Muslims or Jews, how can the Muslims trust, in face of this bitter experience of the past, that the Hindus will prove more generous and will extend to them an equal status in political, economic and social aspects?

Christians and Muslims

There are far more grounds for the Muslims to mistrust Hindus than Christians. Inter-marrying and inter-dining were a possibility between a Muslim and Christian, while both religions recognise no untouchability or caste system. Again in their future outlook on life, in their conception of kingdom of God and brotherhood of man, in their belief in Revealed Religions and in various other ways there are far closer affinities between the two, but it is the plain verdict of History that Christianity in Europe has never tolerated Islam under its government while Muslims in their countries have preserved intact the various Christian nationalities.

The Christian Copts in Egypt, the Armenians in Turkey, the Jews in Palestine have lived under Muslim rule for more than a thousand years without a break, and yet during all this time they were treated as separate nationalities entitled to full rights along with Muslims. Can there be a single example where a Muslim minority has been treated in a European country with equal magnanimity? The fate of Muslims in Albania and South Russia is even now an eye-opener. The Muslims in these countries are being rapidly extirpated and replaced by Italian and Russian settlers.

Hindus in North-West India

Who can say that the Hindus in a future India, where they will have the full rights of a sovereign power at the Centre may not repeat the same tactics and colonise those sparsely populated Muslim parts of India where there is yet abundant scope for surplus population? The peaceful penetration of the Hindu Bania under British protection is even now steadily on the increase in the pure Muslim areas of the North-West. In cities like Bannu, Dera Ghazi Khan and Quetta, where the surrounding districts are purely inhabited by Muslims, Hindus still dominate the urban life in ever-increasing numbers and control all the venues of profit and trade. Unless the Muslims press for

separation immediately from the rest of India, there is danger that the future Federal Government may take up the question of migration in its own hands and finance schemes of colonisation in Sind and the Punjab with a view to settle the starving people of Rajputana or the growing surplus population of the United Provinces in these areas.

Mr. Gandhi's Second Argument

Mr. Gandhi advances his second argument on the basis of affinity of language, dress, food, etc., between a Muslim and a Hindu. He writes thus, "A Bengali Muslim speaks the same tongue that a Bengali Hindu does, eats the same food, has the same amusements as his Hindu neighbour. They dress alike. I have often found it difficult to distinguish by outward sign between Bengali Hindu and a Bengali Muslim. The same phenomenon is observed more or less in the south among the poor who constitute the masses of India."

Instances from European History

Here again the Mahatma relies upon premises which are illusory. Affinity of language, dress, food, etc., alone does not form a sure basis, for the growth of a single nation. I can prove by various instances from Europe that these conditions exist in a far more effective manner among the people inhabiting the various parts of Europe and yet they are separate nations. "The French and the Italians," in the words of M. Bonnet, "are linked by ties of blood, culture and religion," and yet they are poles asunder politically. The Portuguese and the Spaniards are both descended from the same stock, live in the same country with natural sea-boundaries on three sides and the mountain frontier on one side, speak allied languages of the same origin, and have had a common historical past for over 700 years under Muslim rule. Both these peoples are Roman Catholic by religion, observe common social customs and traditions and have developed common economic interests. In colonising South America, in liberating their country from the Muslim yoke and for carrying on a relentless war against Muslim States, their interest never clashed in the 16th and 17th centuries, and yet they have failed to develop into a united national State.

Common Danger

Like the Indian peoples, they were united against what they

called their common danger in the rising power of Islam, and they fought side by side with this object in view. But as soon as they were freed from Muslim rule, they developed separate national States of their own. If the threat of common danger could not unite two sister communities of the same religion, race and culture, there is no reason how the common fight against British Imperialism could unite the Indian peoples once for all. Independence no doubt was the goal of the Portuguese and Spaniards when they fought against their Muslim masters, but once this goal was achieved, they turned to defend their respective interests and were not reconciled till they were finally separated in national States of their own.

Outward Sign, Not Sure Basis of Nationality

So far as food, dress, amusements, etc., are concerned, there is practically no difference between one European and another or even between a German and an Englishman. You cannot recognise by personal appearance whether a certain European is an Englishman, French, German or Italian, unless you enquire it from him. Even a modern Turk will not be recognised on account of his European dress, unless he declares it so. The real test of nationality is not an outward sign which may or may not exist, but the desire on the part of the members of a nation to group themselves under a separate government of their own, provided they are a compact majority in a compact unit of land. No geographical frontiers or administrative difficulties can stand as permanent obstacles in the way of the natural desire of a people to determine their own government.

The oneness of India to-day is an artificial creation of British rule for its own imperial interests. So even in the past whenever the unity of India was achieved under the rule of a king, it was only meant for imperialistic purposes. The fact that India is a single geographical unit at present, does not mean that it cannot be split up into two or more States. Are not the Iberian Peninsula, Scandinavia, the Balkan Peninsula, and European Russia single geographical units? And yet all of them are the homes of two or more nations.

Real Solution of Minority Problem

The past experience of Europe has clearly proved that unless the minority problem is satisfactorily solved, there can be no real peace in

the world. There are two clear ways in which this problem has been tackled. Firstly, a minority which forms a small fraction of the population in a country and does not occupy a compact part of land, cannot be assigned the status of an independent nation. It can, however, be assured of safeguards for the protection of its religion, language, and culture. Such has been the case of minorities in Rumania, Jugo-Slavia, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, etc. In the same way the Sikhs, Christians, Parsis, Jains, etc., are minorities in the various provinces of India and are not entitled to the status of independent nations. The Muslims too, in seven Provinces are minorities as they do not muster strong in any one of them and do not occupy compact areas.

The second method in which the minority problem was tackled in Europe was the readjustment of existing geographical frontiers to permit minorities occupying compact areas to have the status of independent States. Czarist Russia, the Austro-Hungarian, and the Turkish Empires were experimented upon from this standpoint.

Russia and India Compared

In Soviet Russia where the Russians formed more than 75% of the population, the minorities were mostly concentrated, as in case of India on the frontiers of the empire. Hence a chain of independent States came into existence. Finland, Latvia, Esthonia, Lithuania and Poland on the western border became independent.

There were no real geographical frontiers which separated these new States from the rest of Russia. In fact, they were closely linked together with Russia by common economic interests. The creation of the new States on the western border of Russia practically blocked it from direct contact with Baltic Sea and other countries beyond. All the important seaports passed into non-Russian hands, yet the Bolsheviks were sincere enough to recognise the right to self-determination of the people of the new States and did not feel any moral justification for interference in their internal affairs.

If the case of India were to be compared with that of Russia after the last war, it would be easily recognised that a united Russia, with the Baltic Provinces as forming an integral part of it, was far more necessary for the economic welfare of Russia than can the North West of India be for India.

North-West India

The bulk of Russian trade passed through the Baltic sea ports, the most advanced districts and industrial and mining centres were situated on the West in Poland and Finland; Russian railways were connected direct with those passing through Baltic States. There were no well-defined frontiers which could separate them from the rest of Russia. Despite, however, all these points in support of union of these States with Russia, separation was accepted as a settled principle.

In India, the question of separation of the North-West does not present similar difficulties so far as the rest of India is concerned. The Hindus stand in no way to suffer or lose materially if Muslims are assigned a separate homeland in the North-West. This region is for administrative purposes already a separate part of India. It has a separate railway system and a drainage system. Its foreign sea-borne commerce mostly passes through Karachi, which is an exclusive seaport for it. It is separated from the rest of India by the deserts of Rajputana and the River Jumna. The Muslims form a compact majority of over 75% in this region. Economically, the interests of the people are quite well marked from the rest of India. Unlike the Baltic States in the west of Russia, the North-West of India does not command the trade routes of the rest of the country, as the bulk of Indian trade passes through Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. Hence there is no economic loss to the rest of India, if the North-West is separated.

Misreading of Muslim Case

Mr. Gandhi in an emotional view writes in another place, "And is Islam such an exclusive religion as the Qaid-i-Azam would have it? Is there nothing in common between Islam and Hinduism or any other religion? Or is Islam merely an enemy of Hinduism." Here again he has deliberately tried to misread the situation. The Christian Armenians and Muslim Kurds have lived together for centuries, speak the same language, eat the same food, wear the same dress, and observe many common social customs and yet they are not prepared to live under the rule of people other than their own or to weld together into a single nation. The Armenians have been given a separate homeland in the new republic of Armenia. This, however, does not mean that Islam is an enemy of Christianity or that there is nothing in common between a Muslim and a Christian.

Issue Before Muslims

The issue before the Muslims is whether in any country or compact part of a country where they are a solid majority, they should have the status of an independent nation or a mere majority depending upon the good will and protection of others. Muslim history has given one and only one reply to this question. The Muslims will never forego their majority rights for any consideration, however weighty it may be.

Example of Albania

Take the case of a small country like Albania in Europe. The Muslims form a majority of 70% in Albania. As long as their interests were secure under the Turkish Empire, they remained content; but once this Empire collapsed and they were left to their fate they decided to form an independent State of their own and chose a Muslim King, though they had far greater chances of security and protection if they had merged into the Serbian or Greek nations with whom they had much in common. They, however, steadily refused these considerations and preferred to lose their independence rather than give up their identity as a separate Muslim people. The Italian rule which has ushered in a reign of tyranny has failed to curb their spirit.

Muslims in Chinese Turkestan

Exactly has been the case of Muslims in Chinese Turkestan. They are a helpless minority of three millions in the Chinese Empire, but, as they are settled in a compact province they have never been content with Chinese rule and have ever been on the outlook for an opportunity to declare their independence. It is only the fear of Russian aggression from the west and the *status quo* policy of British Imperialism in Central Asia which has suppressed so far the Muslim aspirations for independence.

Muslim Claims Irresistible

To think that the Muslims will be content with the status of a minority in the North-West and the North-East of India, where they form a majority of over 75% in population, is simply belying the lessons of Muslim History. If the 15 millions of Afghans, Persians or Turks can make an independent existence, uninterfered with by others, the

In Central Asia, Muslims are a majority of 95% out of a population of 20 millions and yet at present they are kept under subjection by the Chinese and Soviet Governments.

Islamic political problems are everywhere of an allied nature. Liberation of one Muslim country will directly affect another. The fate of Muslims in India will have direct repercussions in other parts of the world, particularly in the Western Provinces of China and Southern and Eastern parts of Russia, where Muslims are in a majority. Acceptance of minority status within the sub-continent of India will besides sealing once for all the fate of 90 million Muslims in India, lead to permanent enslavement of 30 millions of Muslims in Soviet Russia and 50 millions in Western China.

It is quite natural to suppose that if India achieves independence as a united country under the aegis of Congress, it will enter in future into permanent alliance with China and Russia so as to keep the Muslims in the latter three countries under permanent domination. The creation of an independent Muslim State in Central Asia will always be viewed with suspicion by the future Congress Government in India as this will lead to movement for separation among the Muslims in India as well. It is thus a great tribute to the statesmanship of Mr. Jinnah that he has foreseen the future so clearly and has set in motion forces which will ultimately promote the cause of Muslim independence in India China, Central Asia and parts of Southern Russia.

PAKISTAN SCHEME AND THE SIKHS

North-West India Distinct from Hindustan By M. R. T.
in 'The Eastern Times' April, 26 1940.

The Pakistan Scheme has raised a storm of opposition from certain quarters which do not see eye to eye with Muslims. The Sikhs in particular have expressed their strong opposition through a number of meetings.

Master Tara Singh, the leader of the extremist section among the Sikhs, has declared that the Pakistan scheme has dealt a blow to the cause of Swaraj and that the Sikhs will repudiate it.

Sir Jogendra Singh, a moderate Sikh leader, admits that "obstacles in the way of union are many. There is a pervading air of distrust which is growing as the days pass." He agrees with the Muslims that "theories of pure democracy are inapplicable to India or as a matter of fact to any country." He suggests that "the remedy is not separation, but balanced representation of all interests. It is in securing balanced representation of the classes as the masses that Mr. Jinnah will find the best means of securing the position of his co-religionists."

India in the Past

The basic idea of opposition to the Pakistan Scheme is supplied by the nation, held so far, that India with its present bounds and limits is a permanent geographical unit and not a mere collection of countries, as is believed by Muslims. One may justly invite the attention of the reader to the condition of India immediately prior to the British rule. The Punjab, with some parts of the Frontier Province and Kashmir, was an independent kingdom under the Sikhs; Sind and Baluchistan were governed by their own chiefs, while the rest of India was split up into a number of independent States of which the most important were the Mahratta confederacy, Mysore, Hyderabad, Oudh and Bengal. Whatever unity India achieved in the past under Muslim rule was the result of external circumstances which brought the greater part of India under a central administration. Even prior to the Muslim invasion of India, the country had lacked unity.

When Mahmud of Ghazni invaded India in the tenth century, he met with no united opposition from a Central Hindu Empire. The Indian continent was then divided into a number of independent kingdoms often at war with one another, and mostly governed by Rajput chiefs. This period in Indian History which roughly extends over a 1,000 years, is called the Rajput Period. Strictly speaking, during the long Hindu Period which extended over 2,000 years or more, India never existed as a single political unit with the present-day bounds and limits. As is truly described by the author of Robert's Historical Geography, "no lasting imperial dominion in India was ever established by a Hindu people, though on three occasions such an event appeared to come within the bounds of possibility." The short lived empire of Asoka which was strictly speaking a Buddhist enterprise, did not include many parts of present-day India while Samundra Gupta's empire about 400 A. D. and Harsha's empire 200 years later did not extend beyond the river Jumna and the Vindhyachal Mountains, nor did they found any lasting dynasty.

India Under Muslims

The past clearly indicates that it was the Muslims who first gave the idea of unity to the people in the vast sub-continent of India, and this not with a view to see the Muslim population absorbed among the Hindus, but simply because it suited the expansion policy of the Muslim kings. Hindus and Muslims never joined together as members of one coherent nation, but only as members of two different religions and cultures who were placed by destiny under a common system of government. The Muslim kings undoubtedly pursued a liberal policy of toleration towards their Hindu subjects, recognised their freedom of religion and worship, and extended their favours alike to Hindus and Muslims. Under Akbar the Great, an attempt was made for the first time to unite Hindus and Muslims by an appeal to a new common religion, but the attempt met with opposition from all quarters and proved a failure. Thereafter the Hindus and Muslims never had any opportunity to work together under a common system of government which they could claim as the result of their own efforts. On the other hand, the rise of the Sikhs, Rajputs and Mahrattas on the collapse of the Mughal Empire and their frequent inroads into Muslim States of Hyderabad, Oudh, and Bengal, widened the gulf that already separated the Hindu from the Muslim and gave clear proofs that the new Hindu movements were inspired by a feeling of hatred towards Muslim religion

The Mahrattas

The Mahratta danger had lost its moral force. The crushing defeat in the third battle of Panipat in 1716 had dealt a death blow to the power of the Peshwas and hence-forth, Holkars, Scindia and Bhonsla had become the rivals for the distribution of the Mahratta Empire. The mutual jealousies and quarrels of the Mahratta chiefs would have once again turned to the advantage of the Muslims, and another appeal to the Muslim kingdoms to unite against a common danger would have once again proved a decisive factor in the history of India. Whatever might have been the outcome of the struggle, in the long run it was certain that the Muslim majorities in Bengal and North-West of India would have been politically awakened to their own sense of importance. Muslims might have lost their States in those parts of India where they were a minority, but they would have gained a permanent foothold in Bengal and North-West where they were a majority of population.

Lesson from the Past

It is, however, of no use to unravel the past except to learn the lesson that India was never united into one nation, and that prior to the British rule, the political leaders of the Muslims and Hindus struggled for the mastery of power. If the two communities had agreed to mark their spheres of influence and confined their activities to the consolidation of their respective position in those areas where they were in a majority and were entitled to govern, a common line of action might have been pursued against the new British danger. But India was then a mere geographical expression and no statesman could visualise a future where both communities could live as a united nation.

A similar position confronts India to-day. The British Empire is passing through a political crisis. It is ready to release its hold on India, provided the people come to terms with it on an agreed formula. Hindus or Muslims separately cannot bend the British Government to yield to any of their demands. Unless they unite, the cause for independence is likely to be indefinitely postponed. The political leaders of both the communities have failed to inspire confidence among others. The Muslims are not prepared to live as a minority community in those provinces where they are in a majority and demand the status of an independent nation. Hindus, on the other hand, wish to keep India united, as in this way alone they can dominate the Centre and control the Muslim Provinces.

Muslim Problem in India

The problem, so far as Hindus and Muslims are concerned is very simple and admits of no insuperable difficulties. The Muslims form one-fourth of the total population of India and number 90 millions. It is nothing less than political jugglery to treat such a big community as a minority for the sake of a united India which never existed in the past and which does not appeal to the Muslim political mind. There is no precedence among independent countries of to-day where such a big minority exists.

In Europe there is hardly any country with a minority exceeding one or two millions in numbers. The German Empire of to-day has under it many Non-German peoples, Poles, Czechs, Danes, etc., but this is not considered a permanent solution of the problem. The present war in fact has been fought to liberate these minorities from German rule.

Minority Problem in Europe

European statesmen after the last Great War made a serious effort to settle the minority problem. The word "minority" was given a definite interpretation. It was subjected to two clear definitions. If a minority is scattered in a country, and does not form a compact majority by itself in any well-defined geographical part, it cannot be assured of safeguards for the protection of its religion, language and culture.

The Magyars in Rumania, the Croats in Jugo-Slavia, the Poles in pre-war Germany, the Muslim Tatars in European Russia number more than a million each, and occupy many compact areas in these countries. Muslims in European Russia are a majority in Crimea, Kalmyk, Bashkir, Daghestan, Kerman and number over 5 millions and yet they are treated as a minority community. The Magyars occupy compact areas inside the Transylvanian Province of Rumania, and yet they are deprived of the status of an independent nation.

On the same lines, the Sikhs are a minority in the Punjab, numbering 5 millions, and can only be assured of safeguards of religion, language and culture like the minorities in European countries. If they are conceded the status of independent nation, the Muslims in Hind

Provinces, like the U. P. where they are double the number of Sikhs, in Bihar, and Assam where they exceed Sikhs and in Madras and Bombay where they are slightly lower in population than the Sikhs in the Punjab, as of independent nations.

For the sake of 3 millions of Sikhs who can on no modern test claim the status of an independent nation, 90 millions of Muslims cannot sacrifice the rights for independence of 60 millions of them who are concentrated in well-defined geographical and administrative units in two separate parts of India.

The problem before the Muslims in India to-day is to reduce their strength as a minority to reasonable limits. They do not claim independence for 90 millions of these people but only for 2/3rds of them. If the Sikh method of division were accepted, then Muslims would lay claim to many other parts of India where they excel the Sikhs in numbers.

Muslims in U. P.

The Province of the U. P. alone is of far more importance to Muslims there than the Punjab can be to the Sikhs. The Muslims number 7 millions and form 1/7th of the population. The Sikhs in the Punjab number 3 millions and form 1/10th of the population. The Aligarh Muslim University, Deoband, Azamgarh and many other places are the centres of Muslim religion and culture, while Roorki, Banda and other places are sacred to Muslim memory. The whole of the U. P. has been a centre of Muslim culture and civilisation in the past; its historical mosques, places, mausoleums and gardens still remind one of the grandeur of Muslim architecture in the past. Historically, politically and spiritually and numerically, the Muslims have a far greater interest in the future of the U. P. than the Sikhs in the Punjab, and yet they are helpless in face of the principle of self-determination which cannot change the minority status of the Muslims there.

If the Sikhs will insist on a separate homeland for them, they can have no more than 2 or 3 districts of the Punjab on the basis of their population though they will be a minority of population in each of them separately. But this claim on their part will lead to further counter claims on the part of Muslims in the U. P. and other parts of India where they are six times as many as the Sikhs in the Punjab. If the Sikhs are really determined not to live under the rule of Muslim majority, the Muslims are equally determined not to live under the rule of Hindu majority. Whatever privileges will be claimed by the Sikhs in the Punjab, similar ones will be demanded by Muslims elsewhere.

Lesson from Other Countries

The Sikhs should learn the lesson from other countries. A minority so small in numbers, and scattered over different parts of one country, cannot attain the status of an independent nation. As I have stated above, the Magyars in Rumania, the Muslim Tatars in European Russia, the Jews in pre-war Poland, the Croats in Jugo-Slavia can by no stretch of imagination be allowed to have independent States. The Jews numbered 3 millions in Poland before Germany invaded the country, but it was never conceded that they could ever claim an independent status. Similarly the Muslim Tatars, in European Russia, who number 5 millions, cannot claim the status of an independent nation. The Sikhs are a minority in the strict sense of the word and their future is irrevocably connected with Muslim North-West, where they will be assigned the status of an important minority with special rights and privileges over and above their numerical strength. The Muslims are serving the cause of the real Punjab when they claim separation, for as in this way alone the Punjabis can dominate the proposed North-West Federation.

The Punjab can play no important part in a United India where its interests will be inadequately defended at the Centre and where it will lose its present position as an independent economic unit. The creation of a bigger Punjab with natural expansion in the North-West and South, so as to include Kashmir, the Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan, is in reality the regeneration of the old historical kingdom which the Sikhs tried to keep united in their time of glory and which now will be supported by the combined might of Muslims and Sikhs. A true Punjabi should always try to place the interests of his country first and should never agree to see his country fall from its real position. The Punjab as a dominant partner in a Federation of the North-West will be the master of its own house and will exert her full force at the Centre.

It will have a commanding voice in determining the problems that will affect its own future and will control the army, the navy, air and other defence services in proportion to its population. Can it be expected in case of a united India, that Punjab will play the dominant part? Already the present monopoly of the Punjab in the army has been challenged and the time is not far when the Sikhs and Muslim elements in the army will be reduced to insignificance. Similarly the

economic interests of the Punjab are bound to come into conflict with Hindu India. The Punjab's future lies in the pursuit of a policy of free trade so as to find markets for its raw materials in Europe and other parts of the world, while in return it will buy manufactured goods at low competitive prices. The country will be a loser all round and will be at the mercy of the capitalists of Hindu India if it accepts a system of government at the Centre where its voice will be comparatively ineffective.

Politically, geographically and economically, the Punjab has more in common with Kashmir, the Frontier Province, Baluchistan and Sind than with the rest of India. The entire North-West is a distinct natural region fertilised by the Indus and its five distributaries. It has separate drainage and railway system. It has a separate outlet in Karachi through which the bulk of its foreign trade passes. It is separated from the rest of India by the river Jumna and the deserts of Rajputana. If a barrier were raised on the eastern boundary of the Punjab and all communications were stopped with the rest of India, there would be no great effect on the economic life of the people. Whatever Punjab wants to obtain from the West, it can have through Karachi. Its exports have a natural outlet in the south-west. It is in fact a complete well-defined geographical unit raising no administrative difficulties on its separation from the rest of India.

Congress does not face Realities

Rejoinder to Mr. Kripalani, by M. R. T. in
'The Eastern Times' June 20 1940.

Mr. J. B. Kripalani, in an article in the "Tribune" of June 17 under the heading "Confusing Issues," vainly attempts to prove by a long chain of arguments that coalition cabinets and national cabinets are no remedy for the present political deadlock in India. He derides the offer from a section of the Muslim League to drop for the time being the scheme of separation only if coalition cabinets are formed at the Centre and in the Provinces. He admits that the Government, the Anglo-Indian Press, the Liberals and even some Congressmen entertain and encourage this idea, and yet he seeks to justify the Congress position in refusing to come to terms with the Muslim League.

Analogy Inapplicable

He confuses the issues entirely by quoting the analogy of England. It is evident to a student of politics that the system of government in vogue in England can suit a homogeneous country. The party system of government in the British Parliament is subject to constant changes on the part of the electorate. The Conservatives, the Liberals and the Labourites can seize power in turn or unite in case of a national emergency. There are no fundamental differences which can bring them into conflict for all times. The English people are one by religion, race and language. They have common historical traditions and political aspirations. There are no deep-rooted misgivings among them on the basis of history or a divergent outlook on life.

Conditions in India

Here in India the conditions are entirely different. Hindus and Muslims are not merely two religious communities; they are two distinct nations representing separate social orders and civilisations. Their interests clash in almost all material aspects, i.e. politically, economically, culturally and spiritually.

A Hindu looks to his ancient past for political inspiration; he takes pride in the revival of the ancient Hindu culture, philosophy

and art. His economic interests are absolutely exclusive. As a community of money-lenders, bankers and traders, the Hindus are looked upon with suspicion by the Muslims everywhere. The rigidity of caste system, which is still observed in its old form by the vast majority of Hindus, applies with force against untouchables with force against peoples. Inter-dining and inter-marrying among Hindus and Muslims are unheard of in India. The Hindu reverences the cow and will deny the Muslim the right to kill this animal for food purposes.

There are a thousand other ways in which the two communities stand diametrically opposed in the observance of their religious rites, customs and other social practices. A day of public rejoicing for a Hindu may be a day of mourning for a Muslim. This happens when Dussera coincides with Mohurram. There are no two nations on earth which present far greater differences than the Hindus and Muslims of India.

French and Italians

The French and the Italians are two distinct nations in Europe, but it will be found on careful observation that there are far less differences between them than between Hindus and Muslims. Both of these European peoples are Christian by religion and are members of the same sect, i.e. Roman Catholics. They acknowledge the Pope of Rome as the spiritual head of the Roman Catholic Church. They belong to a common stock and claim their descent from the Latin race. They speak allied languages of common origin. Intermarrying and interdining between a French and Italian family are not banned. Thousands of Italians have adopted French nationality without incurring the displeasure of other Italians, and so is the case with the French workers who permanently settle in Italy and adopt it as their motherland. In social customs, in dress, in games, and sports, in amusements and excursions, in education and literary activities, the tastes of the two peoples are more or less the same. You cannot distinguish an Italian from a French by his dress or habits. It is in recognition of these common points of similarity that M. Bannet, a French statesman, once said, "The Italians and the French are linked together by ties of blood, religion and race." In spite, however, of all that can be said in support of the possibility of a real union between the two nations, one difference alone, i.e., separate political aspirations, has divided the two peoples and estranged their sympathies permanently.

Common Motherland

The supporters of one-nation theory may perhaps discredit the above line of argument and suggest that the Italians and French lack the link of a common motherland. But here too it will be proved from examples that they do not stand on a sure ground. The Poles and Russians have lived together in the western provinces of Russia; they are united by ties of a common religion and common race. Alternatively in the past, these nations have dominated a great part of western Russia. They are, however, still poles asunder politically.

The Norwegians and Swedes in Scandinavia, the Portuguese and Spaniards in the Iberian Peninsula; the Magyars and Slovenes in Hungary and the English and the Irish in Ireland repeat the same story. The link of a common motherland has failed to unite these peoples in the past. The only obstacle which has stood in the way of a common nationality on the part of these peoples has been their conception of a distinct political status.

Muslim Case in India

The Muslim in India furnish simply another example of what has been proved in Europe. They cannot merge their identity in Hinduism or their pseudo-nationalism. They have a distinct political future on the basis of their historical importance and numerical strength. They are concentrated to the number of 60 millions in two separate parts in the north-west and north-east of India. No modern test can deny them the status of a separate nation.

The Indian Muslims fulfil the two essential conditions which the European statesmen applied with success in determining the fate of the minorities in the former Austro-Hungarian and the Turkish Empires. They are a compact majority in well-defined compact areas. Unlike the Sikhs they are not a small minority of 12% and scattered in more or less proportion all over the Punjab. They form a population of 28 millions out of a total population of 34 millions living in Sind, the Frontier Province, Kashmir, Baluchistan and the Punjab, short of Ambala Division and some Hindu and Sikh States. Similarly in Eastern Bengal and Assam they number 30 millions out of the total population of 40 millions.

Non-Muslim Minorities

There is no other community in India except the Hindus and Muslims who can be entitled to the status of a separate nation on the basis of the theory outlined, i. e., a compact majority in a compact area of well-defined limits. The Sikhs, the Indian Christians, the Jains and the Parsis are mere minorities in the modern sense of the word. They can be assured of safeguards for the protection of their religion, culture and language, but they cannot have a supreme and final voice in the national organs of a modern state, i. e. Army, Navy, Defence, Foreign Affairs, etc.

If the Muslims had been a scattered minority in India and had not mustered together in sufficient strength in any part of India, they would have been content with the status of a minority. Even now the Muslims do not demand sovereign rights for 30 millions of their brothers who live in Hindu-majority Provinces. The Muslims in the U. P. alone form 14% of the population and are double the number of the Sikhs in the Punjab and yet they do not claim a dominant voice in the administration as the Sikhs claim under their fantastic Khalistan scheme.

Russian Claim

Mr. J. B. Kripalani is trying to apply western theories in so far as they suit the Hindu community. His case is just like a Russian who will always base his claims high on the ground of a common economic programme to enslave the peoples in Baltic Provinces, Trans-Caucasia and Central Asia. The Russians in Europe consider their country as one compact land which admits of no vivisection. In fact the Baltic Provinces and Poland in the West and the Trans-Caucasian States of Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia are contiguous with Russia proper and form geographically a real part of it. But the peoples living in these parts have never admitted the claims of Russians for domination and asserted the independence when the old Czarist Russia collapsed. Even now the Latvians, Estonians and Lithuanians are struggling for their independence. If Russia succeeds through sheer aggression to put an end to the independence of these States, this act will never be justified on moral grounds. The Hindus in India should take a lesson from the European situation. There can be no peace in the world unless the status of peoples, who on any modern test are capable

of forming independent sovereign states, is determined. The Muslims are a minority in India by accident. It is the force of the British bayonet which has preserved the unity of this vast sub-continent. If this force is removed, the country will split up into its natural parts.

Muslim Attitude at Present

Muslims, however, realise the gravity of the situation at present. They are alive to the Nazi menace in Europe which, in league with Fascism, is bent upon the domination of the world. They are determined to resist this new danger and to sink all their differences to unite for common cause. Indian Muslims are willing to postpone consideration of the Pakistan scheme till the termination of the war, but they will never accept a position which will reduce them to insignificance.

The Congress game is to wrest all power in the Central and Provinces in the name of the Indian nation which does not exist. It has threatened to withdraw all support from the Government unless its demands are met in full.

The Muslim League, on the other hand, is ready to co-operate with the Congress on an equal basis. It is ready to extend full support to the Government and it will take the League representatives into full confidence.

It is now the Congress alone which is pursuing a policy of obstruction. Threats of Civil Disobedience or withdrawal of active support from the war cannot force the Muslims to forego their principles. Congress is precipitating matters, and hastening civil war by openly condemning the Muslim League and its leaders. Muslim Indian will never forgive the present Hindu leaders once the opportunity comes to decide their future destiny.

Two Indias

What an Englishman Thinks of Pakistan Scheme.

By Patrick Lacey in the "Contemporary Review" and in
"The Eastern Times", August 2, 1940.

The Lahore session of the All-India Muslim League had two immediate effects. It stimulated resistance by Indian minorities, especially Mohamedans, to the communal authoritarianism (as they call it) of Congress hegemony; and it revived interest in Pakistan scheme for the division of India into two independent Dominions. Here in England we have much criticism of the Pakistan Idea, but no adequate explanation of it. It is mentioned so vaguely as an "Indian Ulster" that very few people can give it with understanding the treatment it merits—to be damned as a nightmare, tolerated as an academic dream, or entertained as a *pis aller* to mitigate communal difficulties when other expedients have failed. If we are doomed to argue about it, for or against, we had better try to see exactly what it is.

The Indian Statutory (Simon) Commission and the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian Reform put the premises concisely in their study of the communal problem. "Differences of race, a different system of law, and the absence of inter-marriage, constitute.....a basic opposition manifesting itself at every turn in social custom and economic competition" "They' (the Hindus and Muslims) may be said to represent two distinct and separate civilisations." Mr. Jinnah said much the same in his presidential speech to the Muslim League on Good Friday. His inference seems to be that some partition of India may become the only means of satisfying the legitimate hopes of Hindu and Muslim alike, and of giving each community a form of self-government appropriate to its distinctive traits. In this, he is supported by others, not Muslims only, who reject the obstructionist doctrine that India cannot or must not be emancipated completely except as a single geographical polity, one huge compound of federated units. If, they say, we cannot agree ourselves on terms for our advance hand-in-hand to freedom under a single responsible government, let the Hindu nation and the Muslim nation go ahead as well as they can separately; don't hold us back together just because we quarrel.

The Scheme

Hence the Pakistan scheme—the oldest and least fissiparous of several efforts by different authors to redraw the map. Taking numbers-cum-vigour as the yardstick, it assumes with obvious reasons that Indian Mohammedanism is most conspicuously concentrated, most virile and self-contained, in the block of contiguous territories comprising the Punjab, Kashmir, the North-west Frontier Province and Agencies, Sind, Baluchistan, Khairpur and Bahawalpur. These seven components would make up Pakistan, with a Federal or Dominion capital at Lahore and a growing air and sea-port at Karachi. It would have an area roughly seventy-five times the size of Ulster, and equal to Spain, Czecho-Slovakia, Austria, Albania, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Lithuania and Eire combined. It would contain as many people as Albania, Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Lithuania and Switzerland together. (None of these countries is usually considered except by Germany, too small to deserve an independent sovereignty). But that disposes only of a quarter of India and less than a tenth of her population. The rest of her, constituting a Dominion of Hindustan, would still have nearly three times as many people as any other nation in the world except China, and would be seventh largest in area. Calcutta, Lucknow or Madras might be its capital.

These calculations take account of an ancillary proposal. Each of the Dominions might have a Governor-General. For the discharge of its Commonwealth responsibilities—always limited, and often an expression of sentiment only—the Crown would still be represented at Delhi. The Delhi enclave to-day is very small, and at least one of the plans published in India suggests it might incorporate parts of the Ambala and Jullundur Divisions of the Punjab. In both of these adjoining Divisions—contiguous partly with the United Provinces—Hindus and Sikhs together are a robust and substantial majority. They might be restive in a Pakistan under Muslim control, and the Pakistan Government uncomfortable with them, and their separation would avoid the difficulty of letting Patiala and other Sikh statelets stand as islands in Pakistan territory. The Delhi enclave, thus enlarged, would have an area and population just about twice the size of Switzerland's and might be a useful buffer between the two great Dominions on their strategic border. In its strictly domestic affairs, it could be a condominium administered by the Viceroy, its own representatives, and nominees of the British and Pakistan Central Governments.

In this same authority, too, would vest control of India's continental defence—her Navy, Air Force and the greater part of her Army—and perhaps the Customs Revenue required to pay for them. Pakistan and Hindustan each would want a small army for internal security, but the pooling of first-line-troops under Delh's neutral though representative command would guarantee each against assault by the other. There are very obvious flaws in the idea. Its supporters think, rightly or wrongly, that they have answers at least to some of them.

Objections Answered

(1) A third of all the Indian Muslims live in Bengal, several hundred miles from the nearest point of Pakistan, and are the presidency's majority community. If they are to be forgotten, or reckoned as Hindustanis, what becomes of the plan's main purpose? It is argued nonetheless that the comments already quoted from two reports of Parliament are true more especially of the difference between Pakistan and Hindustan—that the test of numbers-cum-vigour holds good. It is the distinguished characteristics of Pakistan and Hindustan that would be most likely to aggravate serious conflict in a single Federal Parliament with a large majority from the one dominating a minority from the other, were obtrusive over the whole of India. The Bengal Mohammedan has more in common with his Hindu neighbours than the Punjabi Hindu with a Madrasi Hindu. For these reasons, and also because Europeans hold the balance of power in the Bengal legislature, the Presidency should be able (it is said) to muddle along as an integral part of Hindustan. If not, it is invited either to detach itself with a constitution similar to Burma's or to let its districts east of the Brahmaputra become a self-governing colony of the Pakistan or the Delhi condominium. Rather a cavalier dismissal.

(2) Kashmir—in area a big part of Pakistan, though its population is small—is a Hindu State inasmuch as its ruling dynasty is Hindu. But nearly 90 per cent of its oppressed people are Muslims and democracy of some sort is a motive of the whole scheme. Hyderabad, where a Muslim dynasty rules a big Hindu majority, is expected to federate with Hindustan, so why not Kashmir with Pakistan? This argument may be less repugnant to a timid Political Department than the suggestion that the Maharaja of Kashmir should exchange thrones with the Muslim ruler of a Hindu majority in Bhopal.

(3) The scheme cannot kill the communal problem: there would be minorities scattered about in both Dominions. In round figures Pakistan would have 25 million Muslims to 6 million Hindus and or Sikhs: Hindustan would have 225 million Hindus to 55½ millions Muslims if it includes Bengal or otherwise 223 to 27½. Yet the suggested partition is defended as the least impracticable means of signifying India's great religious division in politico-geographical terms: as the only means of giving each community a government system it can approve of. Thus gratified (it is argued) they should have less quarrel with their minorities; and the minority in one Dominion would be a hostage for the good behaviour of its co-religionists in the other. Hideous thought; but the existing Constitution, or any other seriously contemplated, must create a similar condition in autonomous provinces. Mohammedans all over India observed a special day of thanksgiving for escape from Congress rule when the Congress Ministries had retroceded their duties to British officials. They say that under an All-India Federal Government and Parliament, the Mohammedans, both inside and outside their special provinces, would be hostages to Hindu fortune. They resist their subjection to a Hindu majority just as the Jews in Palestine dislike the idea of majority rule of the Arabs—and India, about 180 times larger, lends its better to partition plans. Hence the Pakistan idea is favoured by Jinnah and other Muslims in Hindu provinces where it cannot directly benefit them.

(4) Could Pakistan be financially solvent? Orthodox economists say "unless the Punjab continued to provide the backbone of the Indian Army." There is some reason to suppose that it would. The Punjab, containing nearly two thirds of Pakistan's population, was found to be the only province needing no redistribution of funds from the Central Government when Sir Otto Niemeyer recommended his adjustments between Central and Provincial Finance. Other nations have carried on, somehow, long after orthodoxy has condemned them to ruin. Hopes are also fixed on the development of Kashmir (whose Maharaja cannot really need twelve times the Viceroy's salary), the prosperity of the newly-irrigated Sind, and something like durable peace on the frontier.

Only Way to End Frontier Trouble

Of all these speculative answers to much less hypothetical objections, the last challenges the most interesting discussion: for it is based on belief in the Pakistan plan as a remedy for the tribal sore on the

North-West border. In the words of officialdom, "the time has arrived when an effort should be made to be made to bring under our control, and, if possible, to organise for purposes of defence, the great belt of tribal territory which is along our North-Western frontier." A well-groomed phrase; but it was written fifty-three years ago by the Government of India to the Government of Punjab. Nothing came to it then; we can see how much has come to it since. Parliament were told last July that seven years' disturbances in Pakistan had cost the Army and Air Force 113 men killed and 377 wounded. People were worried about those casualties, and dismayed that we needed a garrison of 20,000 troops in Palestine. Very few noticed that in two years' unfinished campaign against the Wazirs we had employed some 40,000 troops, losing 305 killed and 888 wounded. And now, when every available man, weapon and penny is to be called into the war against Germany--when economy in all directions is preached everywhere--we learn that three years of scrapping and skirmishing have not been enough to settle Waziristan, but a new expedition has had to go prowling about the Ahmedzai salient.

It is a tiny whisper as modern war goes, of course. The sixteen frontier expeditions or military demonstrations of the last ten years cannot have cost, in aggregate, the price we pay for the thirty-six hours' war in Europe, nor the loss of life we suffered in H.M.S.s "Courageous" and "Royal Oak". But the cost in money is a big sum for India, and Britain is still constitutionally responsible for military activity in India.

Abdul Ghaffar Khan, leader of the Frontier Red Shirts, once told me his alliance with the Congress was an expedient to be abandoned so soon as it seemed to interfere with Pathan notions of independence; "for what have we to do with Hindustan." If that was the mind of a Pathan in British India proper—if the Simon Commission, the Joint Parliamentary Committee and Mr. Jinnah were right—we can hardly expect the militant zealots of Islam in tribal territory to accept laws made by the votes of a Hindu majority in Delhi. The argument runs that the tribes cannot be wholly subdued except by costly and amoral violence, nor inveighed into an Indian comity, for their own and the general good, if this requires their submission to an alien authority. Rule by a Hindu majority from Madras, Bombay, Bihar, the U. P. and so on would seem at least so alien to them as the present British mixture of bribery, comaraderie and battery. But offer them a square deal and

tolerable amenities in their own territory; let them see a Mohammedan Government established at Lahore on principles they can appreciate; let that Government persuade them with such coercion as they make necessary, to co-operate with it in digesting the responsibility and fruits of civilised administration. It is possible that they then at last reconcile themselves to a new and better order of life within an Indian commonwealth. Some people think this could be done without the creation of an independent Pakistan; others are convinced that the bogey of an over-riding, alien, Delhi-made regime would either deter the tribes and the outset, or provoke their secession eventually, from a system of provincial autonomy embracing all India.

Pakistan may be a Utopian dream, or something worse. The arguments against it need no advertisement. But at the same moment it seems to be gaining favour, for reasons, and in a particular manner, that bode nobody any good, whether there is anything to be said for the idea or not. It would be a mistake to assume that all Hindus to a man are opposed to it and will always be ready to resist it. If we believe it to be something worse than a dream, we had better make a reconnaissance flight over its last line of defence, so that we may know exactly what, where and how we must attack it if we want to win our offensive with the minimum cost to either side—or all three sides. This, perhaps, is the last ditch argument.

The unity of India is the artificial creation of a unitary Government imposed from without, whether the binding force is popular approval, submission or antagonism. It is a Good Thing, but not indigenous to the country or natural to its people and history. The British were able to take India because they found it divided against itself. They took a large part of it from the Mussalman Moghuls. They fought a variety of Hindu chieftains. They conquered at times with Muslim allies, at others with Hindu allies. The country has never known unity from Gilgit to Trivandrum and from Quetta to Calcutta save in the peace imposed on it by British rule. Many breaches and divisions have been healed, probably for ever; but the fundamental differences between Hindu and Mohammedan remain and look as if they must remain, and it is no more Britain's business to subordinate the one civilisation to the other than to aid the subjection of Bohemia to German Kultur. The alien bond of unity is now about to go and lest its disappearance should release fullblast the disintegrating tenden-

are now reappearing, there is something to be said for redistributing India as fairly, naturally and securely as possible to the rival claimants from whom Britain seized it—and who helped the British in each other's suppression. In a talk reported to the "Manchester Guardian" nine years ago Mr. Gandhi spoke with regret, but without noticeable emotion, of the possibility that independence might plunge his country into civil strife, and that this might end in the destruction of one community by the other. If that is a possibility, and if the only alternative to it is a choice between two lesser evils, let us decide now what our choice shall be. Let us say we would rather have two free Indian Dominions, each as nearly homogeneous as it can be, than one enormous cockpit of races under the ignominy of alien rule.

Demand for Partition

Speech at Salem by Periyar E. V. Ramaswami, Leader of the Justice Party. "The Sunday Observer", April 28, 1940.

A monster meeting of the citizens of Salem was held on the 19th inst. to celebrate the Partition Day, at the Victoria Market Maidan, Salem. Such a large concourse of people, numbering 30,000, it was said, had never before met at any public meeting in the history of Salem. Janab Ataullah Sahib presided over the meeting.

Mr. K. M. Balasubramaniam, Advocate, Madras, spoke for about 20 minutes. In the course of his speech, he laid stress on the need for separation of India on a racial basis and referred to the motives of those who opposed the demand of Periyar E. V. Ramaswami and Mr. Jinnah.

When Mr. Balasubramaniam was speaking, a number of rowdies and hooligans, evidently engaged by Congressmen and Hindu Mahasabhis, threw stones and sand and caused injury to some persons and inconvenience to others. The Police attempted to check hooligans and had to resort to lathi charge, in which some of the hooligans were stated to have been injured.

After a few minutes, calm was restored and the vast gathering listened attentively to the speech of Periyar.

Periyar E. V. Ramaswami who was given a tremendous ovation, when he rose to speak, spoke for over 1½ hours in Tamil. The following is the substance of his speech :—

They had assembled there in such large numbers to celebrate the Partition Demand Day, and it was most atrocious that their political opponents should try to create disturbance at that meeting. It seemed as though Congressmen had no other programme or policy.

What is Wrong?

Was there anything wrong in their demand for partition? When there were serious differences of opinion, was it not more harmful

to remain united? There was nothing sinful or treacherous in asking for partition, nor could it be said that the person asking for partition because of serious differences of opinion, was working against the best interests of the family. As regards the political partition they were asking, it was neither new or strange nor a difficult or impossible proposition.

India was never a united country or nation. It was made into something like a united country by foreigners for the purpose of convenient exploitation, and the Aryans of this land became their allies. All Indians did not belong to one family; they were not the sons of a common mother or a common father. They belonged to different families and continued to live as different families. Just as the Jail Superintendent or Jailer could not be the head of the family of the prisoners, just as the convict, warders could not be considered as the protecting guardians of the prisoners, so also neither the British nor the Aryans in this country could be considered the heads of our families or the guardians of our rights and interests.

India was Never a Nation

They were seeing before their eyes everyday the spectacle of the elder brother riding roughshod over the demand of other brothers for partition and thereby being the cause of all family troubles and difficulties. Similarly there would be great trouble and unrest if partition on a racial basis was not made. The Indian family consisted, as a matter of fact, not of uterine brothers, but of members belonging to different families, religions, countries, and so on, and all these heterogeneous elements were, strangely enough, characterised as one family which, it was said, should not be divided or partitioned, because the "unity" would be spoilt. It was a well-known fact of history that India was not a homogeneous family, and was never so at any time even in the past.

Aryans, Muslims and Dravidians were never one family. They had been clubbed together as one because of the fact that they had all come under a common alien Government. This artificial unity was harmful to the interests of Muslims and Dravidians, and that was why they were asking for separation. This demand for separation had, it was natural, created a feeling of dislike and bitterness in the minds of Aryans, whose were the vested interests which would be affected by such separation: The Aryans were getting along smoothly leading a life of ease and comfort, without any principles, while the Davidians and Muslims had to

labour at the sweat of their brow. This unfair state of things would be changed if there was a partition of India.

Demand for Partition

In short, the demand for partition is only a demand that exploitation of one race by another should cease, that the domination over, and subjection of, one class by another, should no longer continue.

Aryans had no voice in this partition question. They had no right to say either that a partition should be made or that it should not be made.

Muslims were asking that the regions in which they were in a great majority should be formed into a distinct State. They were asking this from the British Government, not from the Aryans. The attempt of Aryans to perpetuate their domination and exploitation was like that of an illegitimate son of a rich man who got control of the father's properties and wanted to continue his unholy and illegal control and possession of the properties, in spite of the demand of the legitimate sons for partition of the properties to which they were the lawful heirs.

Dravidian Demand

The Dravidians, like the Muslims, were asking that the regions which their ancestors and forefathers had, according to history, ruled and enjoyed, should be formed into a Dravidian State, which alone would help the progress and prosperity of the Dravidians. And Aryans had no right to stand in the way of the progress and advancement of Dravidians or Muslims.

After all, what claims had the Aryans except that they betrayed the land of the Dravidians and Muslims into the hands of the Britishers?

It might be recalled that Mr. Gandhi had stated that he had no objection to partition if there was a real demand, as the Congress had been fighting for the principle of self-determination. But Mr. Rajagopalachariar was talking in parables of cutting the mother, cutting the child, cutting the cow, and so on. Mr. Satyamurthi said that those who wanted to dismember the house ought to be sent out. Mr. Savarkar said that those who demanded partition should be put down by force. By what right did these persons talk like this? Is it not by

the right of the man who came with the begging bowl in his hands and wanted to become the son-in-law of the house?

As Old as the Vedas

It might be pointed out that the Aryan-Dravidian question is as old as the Vedas. That Dravidians had been suffering numerous hardships and humiliations on account of the Aryans, that they considered Aryans, in fact, as their enemies, was evident from ancient tamil works.

Even today, the Aryan treated the Dravidian as an inferior by birth, as untouchable, as chandalas. He said this was the law laid down by God in the shastras, and all men should obey it. From the time Aryans gained a foothold in this land, Dravidians had been treated as inferiors and they continued down the ages to be the hewers of wood and drawers of water. In such circumstances, there were found Dravidians who evidently had no faith in their birth as Dravidians, who began to worship Aryans as their religious Gurus and political prophets. There could be no greater disgrace to the Dravidian community than this state of affairs.

Can India be called Bharata Desa?

In India, the difference between Dravidians and Arya Varta was clearly marked, and literary and historical works bore unmistakable evidence of such definite demarcation and division. In the face of such authentic and irrefutable facts, it was simply foolish to contend that Dravida Nad formed part of Bharata Desa. When did Bharata rule over Dravida Nad? At no time in history did the Dravidian land come under the sway or suzerainty of any King called Bharat. No doubt for sometime, in some places, Muslim rule was established, but it could not be said that Muslims ruled Dravida Nad as they did the Aryavarta for centuries. As a matter of fact, Dravidian Kings established suzerainty over some portions of Aryavarta, but Aryan Kings, particularly a King called Bharata, never ruled over Dravida Nad. As a result of Aryan manoeuvres and machinations, the descendants of the ancient Dravidian Kings became practically the slaves of the Aryans, came to consider themselves an inferior race, and Aryan names were given to the Dravida Nad.

Snake and the Frog

Now Dravidian society was in the position of a frog which was rapidly being swallowed up by a snake. The snake was Aryanism. Dravidian culture and civilisation were being destroyed by Aryanism. How best could the Dravidian frog be saved from the Aryan snake? The only way to save its life was to kill the snake. Unless Aryanism was cut into pieces and destroyed, Dravidianism could not be saved. In such circumstances, who would say that it was a sin to kill the snake?

What was the position of Dravidians in their own Dravida Nad? Dravidians were the hewers of wood and drawers of water; they were the underdogs in every department of life. They were the agriculturists, the labourers, the men who earned their bread at the sweat of their brow. Did any one see an Aryan ploughing the land, harvesting the crop, driving a cart, or working as a peon? Did Aryans do any work which brought perspiration to the body or caused dirt to gather at the tips of the finger-nails? Well, that was the difference between the lives of the Aryans and the Dravidians.

The Aryans called Dravidians, Sudras and Dravidian women, Sudrachis. The servants in Aryan houses were Dravidians. Aryans were economically many, many times superior to Dravidians. They revelled in diamonds and gold, while Dravidians wore very cheap ornaments. About 90 per cent. of Dravidians were illiterate, while 90 per cent. of Aryans were highly literate. In regard to appointments, 90 per cent. of the lower appointments such as peons, thothis, thalayaris and policemen, were held by Dravidians; but 90 per cent. of the higher appointments such as Collectors, Superintendents, and High Court Judges were held by Aryans. Dravidians were thus in the position of underdogs in their own land.

Did the Congress do anything to improve and ameliorate the condition of the Dravidians?

The real remedy was the separation of the Dravidian land and the creation of an autonomous and sovereign Dravidian State. Under a separated Dravidian State, the Aryans could not treat Dravidians as Mlechas, Rakshasas, Sudras, etc. Aryans asked, "Why should India be partitioned?" Dravidians asked, "Why should we be in a perpetual position of degradation with you? Why should not we remain separate and keep our ancient dignity and prestige?"

The partition of India on a racial basis was bound to happen, whether Aryans liked it or not.

Even to-day, India was divided into varying sovereign States. There were about 584 Indian States, which were not subject to the laws and regulations obtaining in British India. There were also autonomous sovereign territories such as French India, Portuguese India, Nepal, Afghanistan etc. Did anyone protest against these divisions and partitions till now? Was not Burma separate? Was not Ceylon separate? Was not India divided into eleven provinces? Did not Congressmen themselves divide the Madras Presidency into four provinces—Tamil Nad, Andhra Desa, Kerala and Karnataka?

What was the advantage of having separation? Travancore and Mysore States had shown how, on account of a separate existence they were able to improve to such an extent that they were called model states. As regards communal troubles, they were not much in evidence in Indian States as compared with British India.

Ceylon and Burma were separated from India, and the result was that they were able to look after the welfare and well-being of their people and drive out those whom they considered as exploiters. In the Dravidian land, Marwaris, Gujarathis and Multanis had been exploiting, but the Dravidians had no right to ask them to go. It was stated that Erode Multanis donated about Rs. 500 for the Hindu Mahasabha Conference, that Salem Gujaratis and Multanis gave Rs. 500 for the same purpose. To spread Hindi in Dravidian land, lakhs and lakhs of rupees were given by Marwaris, Gujarathis and Multanis yearly. Rs. 20 to Rs. 30,000 was spent for the Hindi Prachara Sabha, and these amounts were donated by the Aryan exploiters.

These things were being done to perpetuate the exploitation of Dravidians. Every year crores and crores of rupees were being practically plundered and taken away to the North. A Dravidian might go to Bombay, work in a leather shop, and live in a slum under the most insanitary conditions of life, but the kinsmen of Patel, Desai, Birla and Bajaj came to Madras and lived like lords.

These things would be prevented if Dravida Nad is separated like Burma or Ceylon. Exploitation by Aryans would no longer be possible;

treatment of Muslims and Mlechas and Dravidians as Sudras would be a forgotten memory.

It was of course true that there were some prominent men in the Justice Party who were opposed to the creation of a Dravidian State, but they opposed it not because they did not want such a state on the merits, but because they felt that such an idea might stand in the way of their realising their own personal ambitions in the political field.

As regards the British Government, they should realise betimes that the demand for a separate Dravidian State was made in the best interests of the people and they should see their way to concede it in the near future. They should realise that the Dravidian people were determined to separate themselves from the Aryans and free themselves once and for all from Aryan domination, and they would do even if it meant wading through rivers of blood.

Partition of India, The Proper Solution

By Mr. Gopaul Chetty, Late Editor, "New Reformer", Madras
in 'The Sunday Observer,' May 5 1940.

Regarding concessions of political rights and privileges to India on democratic lines, the problem is fraught with so many practical difficulties and is so closely connected with the social and religious divisions into which India is divided, that it is only a student of Indian Sociology in its innumerable ramifications and differences between caste and caste, race and race, sect and sect that one can realize the difficulties and dangers of transplanting representative institutions successfully in Indian soil. Although these difficulties were brought to the notice of the British Government, they, in pursuance of their progressive policy, granted provincial autonomy two and a half years ago, expecting that nationhood would be gained, that a sound electoral system and truly representative institutions would be evolved in time. But the whole system has proved to be a thorough failure, owing to the misrule of the Congress Ministries and the British Government has now come to understand the serious error they committed in granting these political reforms.

Lord Zetland, in the recent debate in the House of Lords said that the Congress Party have raised in the minds of many Muslims, apprehensions which only they themselves can allay. Lord Crewe said that he was convinced that the more extreme members of the Congress Party were looking forward to the establishment of something like an oligarchy rather than anything we should call a popular Government.

The Congress Ministries never thought as their foremost duty to effect social and religious reforms, to remove the ignorance of the masses by extension of education so that they might be fit to be the electors and the elected and to improve the economic condition of the poorer classes, but did many things for oppressing the Dravidians and Mohammedans and thus gave room for fear and distrust of them and thus increased the disunion which has been the curse of India from the very beginning.

As the electoral system and representative institutions have proved to be a thorough failure, the Dravidians and Muhammadans have no confidence in the Constituent Assembly proposed by the Congress for any further instalment of responsible Government.

Mr. Jinnah speaks of the partition of India as the proper solution of the problem. The Dravidians agree with him fully. The Congress contradicts itself by objecting to the proposal because it has been advocating the division into linguistic provinces. The partition is not going to increase strife. It is only when people of different races live together, all the troubles arise, but not when they live separately.

Besides the eleven provinces excluding Burma and Ceylon, in all there are about 170 States with whom the Government of India has direct dealings through its agents, but the actual number of territories which have a right to call themselves "Native States" is close on 700. What is required is the reduction of the eleven provinces into three.

"The way out," Lord Snell declared, "would be to institute in the minds of the Indian people the idea of another religion, of a common faith and loyalty to motherland as a whole, to regard India as a thing that unites them rather than their special interpretations of religions as something which divides them".

Real unity between the Hindus and Muhammadans is impossible. Once a big attempt was made by Akbar. He gathered round him the best men of his time like Faize, Abdul Fazel etc. They were set to work upon the translation of the Hindu Epics, Sastras, books of philosophy etc. The pride of the Rajput race was conciliated by taking in marriage the princesses of Jaipur and Jodhpur and by conferring equal and superior commands on those princesses. The Emperor himself guided by such counsel of his Hindu and Muhammadan nobles became the real founder of the Union between two races and this policy for a hundred years guided and swayed the Councils of the Empire. A fusion of the two races was sought to be made firmer still by the establishment of a religion of *Din-I-Ilahi* in which the best points both of the Muhammadan, Hindu and other faiths were sought to be incorporated. To conciliate his subjects, Akbar abjured the use of flesh and joined in the religious rites observed by the Hindu Queens. This process of removing all causes of friction and establishing accord went on without interruption during the

reigns of Jehangir and Shajehan. In spite of all these arrangements, the union of the Hindus and Muhammadans became impossible. There is not the slightest hope of the Hindus and Muhammadans uniting in future and forming one nation, while the Hinds themselves among themselves can never do so. Under these circumstances, the best thing to do would be to divide India into Aryan India, Dravidian India and Muhammadan India.

India was always divided into fifty-six states. The term India was unknown to the Hindus. That was a name given to this country after the advent of the British people. There is no authority for the Aryans to say that it was called Bharata Nadu. We learn from history that Aryavarttha is the name given to the place in Northern India where Aryans lived. In very early times, the whole country between the Himalayas and Cape Commorin was called Tamil Naidu as a stanza in *Purananuru* says. But later on another stanza in another book says: "Tamil prevails within the four limits of Venketam, Kumari and the Seas." Tamilakam or the land of the Tamils thus seems to have extended to East and West from sea to sea, and North from Tirupathi Hills to Cape Commorin and to have included the modern States of Travancore and Cochin and the British District of Malabar.

Let us next see how the racial problem was solved in Europe, and U. S. A. Canada and Ulster supply very good examples of the way in which the racial problem can be and has been solved. French Canadians in the Quebec Province joined the Dominion of Canada because they possessed an overwhelming majority in that Province and their predominance in the Quebec Legislature was therefore assured. It was easy to separate Ulster from the rest of Ireland because the overwhelming majority of the people were Protestants. Some of the new States of Europe created since the last war of 1914-1918, illustrate this tendency towards organic States. The Constitutions of Latvia, of Esthonia, of Lithuania have worked smoothly and without friction because the problems there are exclusively simple. There are no racial conflicts, no communal wranglings or religious bitterness. The states are founded on the willing and enthusiastic devotion of the people united by the bonds of race, religion and culture.

In other organic and unitary States like France, England and Germany, the conditions are the same. Economic problems of vast magnitude may arise but they relate to questions that arise not out of

differences of race and religion. The entire out-look in these countries is different from that of Austro-Hungary before the war of 1914-1918. Any one who has studied the working of the Austro-Hungarian constitution of the days preceding last War will realize the immense difficulty and enormous complexity which made sound Parliamentary Government almost impossible. So powerful were the centrifugal forces among the different races and religions that the Government broke down completely during that War and the empire was shattered. On the ruins of the Austro-Hungarian Empire were founded the modern states of Czechoslovakia, Austria, Hungary and Poland. The conflicting claims of nationality and culture found their solution in repatriation.

Thus the ultimate results of the war of races and creeds in Austro-Hungary was the dissolution of the Empire and the creation of organisms in which various races expressed themselves in the form of nation States. It may be objected that the four states were later on conquered by others. The answer is that if they were under the control of one powerful nation, enjoying independence otherwise, they would not have been conquered.

The case of India is analogous to that of Austria and we may further say that it is much more complex.

Under these circumstances, the best policy would be to divide India into Aryan India, Dravidian India and Muhammadan India. To prevent the conquest of these organic States, they must continue to be under the control of the British Government. If India had been a homogeneous country and had been distinguished by the unity of cultural, economic and political and other interests which characterises England, France or Germany, this question of partition would never have arisen. But it is not an organic State and it will never be and artificial unity is of no use.

Dravidian Regions Should Form A Separate State

By Mr. A. C. Balasundara Nayakar, B.A.,L.T. in "The Sunday Observer"
April 7, 1940.

The proposal mooted by Sir Mahomed Iqbal some years ago for the division of India into Racial Regions has at last come to stay. The Muslim League has adopted it as the basis of any future constitution of India. We have read very carefully the resolution of the League Conference dealing with this subject. We find therein reason, deliberation, wisdom and, more than all, a sincere desire to be just to others and to convince them of the justice of the demand. We do not find the least trace of equivocation or hypocrasy. The President of the League has stated clearly the reasons that justify the position taken up by it. For nearly a thousand years, the Hindus and Muslims of India have lived together, but there has been no fusion of these two communities. Each has remained in water-tight compartments, and has guarded its integrity and purity with scrupulous care and devotion. They have their separate religions, cultures and social orders. If a thousand years of close contact, and a hundred and fifty years of a common British Rule could not mix them, Mr. Jinnah claims that the formation of a United India in any near future would be a vain dream. No sane man could call that argument unsound or consider it a sign of diseased mentality. Only hypocrites, who are in despair of finding arguments to refute Mr. Jinnah's conclusions, could call that a mischievous lead to Indian Muslims.

Mr. Gandhi's View

We are surprised to note how Mr. Gandhi tries to meet this two-nation theory of Mr. Jinnah. He maintains that the Muslims of India with very few exceptions are Hindus converted to Islam, and that therefore all of them in common with the Hindus belong to one and the same race. Most probably a secret wish or hope is lurking in the heart of the "Mahatma" that all these 8 crores of Indian Muslims will one day find themselves re-converted to Hinduism by the Shuddi and Sangathan movements of Northern India. May the Giver of all Good prevent

Muslims from such a cruel calamity of coming under the Order of Sanathana Dharma and being vivisected and tortured by that inhuman Social Order. If Mr. Gandhi and his companions do entertain any such hopes, or think of driving out the Muslims out of India thus making India the home-land of the Hindus always subject to the Hindu Raj, they are certainly under a delusion. The Indian Muslims have come to stay in India, they have made it their homeland, and there is no earthly power that can make them withdraw from this country peacefully or otherwise. On the other hand, it is possible for the whole of India being overrun by the Muslims the moment the British bayonet is removed from India.

Position Justified

It is then the duty of every Hindu Leader of the Country to examine closely the two nation theory of Mr. Jinnah and see if that is not a reasonable and just proposal. Mr. Jinnah has very often stressed that the Muslims of India were second to none in their desire to serve the best interests of India, that the Muslim League stood for full national self-government for the people of India, but that the Muslims considered that there could be no real national government unless and until the rights and interest of the minorities are protected and safeguarded by honourable settlement, so as to create a sense of security in them and win their trust and confidence in the majority rule. He has put forward many suggestions in this regard which were called his 14 points, 21 points etc., but every time he came out with a proposal for settlement with the Hindus, he was thwarted by flat refusals from Congress leaders to recognise the status and authority of the great Muslim Leader, and by setting up every time a few Muslim hirelings in the Congress Camp to repudiate and disclaim his authority and representative character. Can there be a greater insult to the great Muslim community, which is not a mere minority community like the Parsis but a community with an ancient military tradition, which was the Ruling Race in India before the advent of the British, and whose rule was so beneficial for the country that Mr. Gandhi himself spoke in praise of it a few weeks ago. Is it any wonder therefore that Mr. Jinnah threw off his 14 points, and holds up the proposal of Sir Mahomed Iqbal as a satisfactory solution of the Hindu Muslim problem? There could be no other go for him in the face of the defiant and insulting attitude of the Mahatma and the Congress High Command.

Muslim States

Let us now closely examine the proposal. The resolution of the Muslim League demands the formation of the Muslim State in the North West and another in the East of India. In this connection, it must be remembered that in the North-West of India there are Sind, Baluchistan, North West Frontier Province and the Punjab whose populations are wholly or predominantly Muslim, and that there is the Indian State of Kashmir and Jammu, the majority of whose population are Muslims. Add to those the smaller Indian States in these 4 British Indian provinces; the whole block can well be constituted into a Muslim State.

Again, in the eastern part of our sub-continent there are Bengal and Assam whose populations are predominantly Muslim. Add to these Manipur and the small Indian States found in these two British Indian provinces, and the whole might be grouped into another big Muslim State. The creation of these Muslim States will give entire satisfaction to the Indian Muslims. In fact, these are the states envisaged in the resolution of the Muslim League conference at Lahore. The eastern region may be called East Muslimstan, and the western region, West Muslimstan.

Other States

We now turn to the non-Muslim population of India. They belong to many races. Some of them are too small to think of separate provinces for themselves. But there are two big racial groups. The populations of United Provinces, Bihar, Orissa, Central India Agency and Guzerat are predominantly Hindu, and contain almost all the important places of pilgrimage, and sacred shrines and rivers of the Hindus. The Indian States of Rajputana contain predominantly Hindu populations and may be easily persuaded to join this group of British Indian provinces. The whole region might be formed into big Hindu State and be called Hindustan.

All the British Indian provinces and the Indian States below the Hindustan can be conveniently grouped into another region. These states and provinces lie wholly on the south of the Vindhya. They are the British Indian provinces of Madras, Bombay, Central Provinces, Berar, the Agency of Coorg, and the States of Hyderabad, Mysore, Cochin, Travancore, and the smaller states of these two British Indian provinces. The majority of the populations of all these states, Indian

or British Indian, including the Mahrattas of the Bombay Presidency, claim to be Dravidians and speak one or the other of the Dravidian languages. Their cultures, traditions and civilizations are separate and distinct from those of the Aryans. The population of those who claim to be non-Dravidian in this region is very insignificant. In these conditions, these states might be formed into a separate region called Dravidastan.

Strategic Positions

Having suggested the convenient and natural ways of dividing of India according to the races that inhabit it, let us now look into the strategic positions of these regions. The Muslims of the Western region will be happy to occupy a position contiguous to that of their Afghan brethren, which will facilitate commercial and other relations with them. There could be no possible invasion of the Hindustan by the Muslims of this region with the help of their Afghan or Arabian brethren so long as India remains under the banner of England. But even after that, the people of Hindustan could resist any such invasion with the help of the people of Dravidastan. But such fears are absolutely groundless; the Indian Muslims want to live in peace with their Hindu neighbours, and do not desire to dominate them. Let us hear what Mr. Jinnah says in this connection: "There is no reason why these states should be antagonistic to each other. On the other hand, the rivalry and the natural desire and efforts on the part of one to dominate social order and establish political supremacy over the other in the Government of the country will disappear. My proposal will tend to create natural goodwill through international pacts between them, and they can live in complete harmony with their neighbours." As for the southern state of Dravidastan, the Vindhya will afford, as in the days of old, ample protection from foreign invasion and aggression.

Division Equitable

It now behoves us to examine whether this method of division will be equitable from the point of view of population. The western Muslimstan including the Muslim States in it will have a population of about 5 crores, and the Eastern Muslimstan, a population of 6 crores, so that the two Muslim states will have a total population of 11 crores. The Hindustan including the Indian States will have a population of about 11 crores, and the Dravidastan including the Indian States will have a population of about 11 crores. This is a very equitable distribution of the Indian population.

Object of Division

We now come to the form of the Government that may be constituted in these regions. This is in fact the most important and at the same time the most difficult problem. It will have to be considered from several points of view. Firstly what does the Muslim League want to gain by the formation of these Muslim States? The resolution concerning this says: "We want our people to develop to the fullest our spiritual, cultural, economic, social and political life in the way we think best in consonance with our own ideas and according to the genius of our people." Granted: does the Muslim League then want a state in which there will be no Hindus? Does it want to transfer all the Hindus of the two Muslim regions to the non-Muslim regions, and *vice versa*? Absolutely not: and that is not at all practicable or desirable. The Muslims of Bengal who love their province and the Bengalee language dearly, will surely refuse to leave Bengal, just in the same way as the Germans of Lithuania refused to come over to Germany. Besides, there is no reason for the Hindus living in these Muslim States to entertain any fears for their life, liberty or property. Do not Muslims live peacefully and happily under the aegis of the Maharaja of Mysore and other Hindu Princes? And do not the Hindus live as peacefully and as happily under the aegis of the Nizam of Hyderabad and the other Muslim Princes? Has not Mr. Gandhi stated a few days ago that the Hindus and Muslims lived in peace and amity with each other before the advent of the British under the Muslim kings? How then could these Muslim States of mixed population help the Muslims to achieve Mr. Jinnah's aim? Mr. Jinnah desires a pure and unmixed Muslim administration in the Muslim States. There will then be no unhealthy and often troublesome rivalry between them and the other minorities in the governance of the states. But of course Mr. Jinnah desires that adequate, efficient and mandatory safeguards should be provided in the constitution for the protection of all other interests of the minorities. The Hindus and the Dravidians will enjoy similar privileges in the matter of the governance of their states. What more safeguards would the Hindus like to have from the Muslims of India? Has any Hindu Leader hitherto given such reasonable and just assurances to the Muslims unequivocally and unquestionably? Immediately after the Mahatma wrote in the "Harijan" that he would be ruled by Indian Muslims, Mr. Sarafkar harangues that India should be always under the Hindu Raj and that, if the Muslims do not like it, they might quit the country.

Government of Regions

We now turn towards the form of government that would be most suitable to these big regions. The government of each region would be a Federation, whose units will be the states, Indian and British Indian. It does not matter if all the federating units do not possess a uniform type of government, and still they may have a common government for some common and mutually beneficial purposes, such as defence, foreign relations, communications, customs etc. Do not Scotland and England have a common government in spite of their having two separate and distinct churches? When religious considerations do not stand in the way of a common government for the common earthly good, why should differences in the form of government be regarded as an insuperable obstacle in the way of that object? Of course effective safeguards will have to be provided in these federal constitutions for the protection of the interests of the minorities both in the regions and the federating units.

Government of India

Now we come to the last phase of this complex constitutional problem. It would be for the greatest good of these four big federal states to have a common government for the whole of India, for the purpose of the defence of the whole country and its foreign relations and such other matters which may be necessary. These four states might form into a confederacy, which might remain a dominion of Great Britain until it becomes so strong and skilful as to be able to protect its shores from foreign invasion or aggression without the help of the British forces and arms. It would be sheer madness to say that we could learn to protect our freedom after the Britisher goes, refusing to utilise the wisdom and knowledge mankind has obtained after so much of valuable sacrifice. Such thoughtless and impatient suggestions can help us only to find ourselves as slaves of a selfish, haughty and unscrupulous conqueror.

In the end, we find the proposal of Mr. Jinnah to be very reasonable, so far-sighted and just scheme for the complete liquidation of the present differences between the Hindus and the Muslims, and for the establishment of a lasting peace and prosperity to all the peoples of India. We heartily welcome the proposal and feel grateful to the Quaid I Azam for discovering the right solution for the ills of India and for its safe and speedy march towards its well-being.

United States of India

Pakistan Scheme—India's Remarkable Revolution

(By Tarun Bhattacharya, formerly editor, Associated Press and
Reuter, "International Times", "Tarun Assam" etc.)
"The Assam Herald" 11th May 1940.

Amidst complicated international situation, the Pakistan scheme of the All India Muslim League has provided for India's remarkable, silent and effective Resolution. To a patriot—a true lover of India, Hindustan and Pakistan should strike as sacrosanct names over which squabbles in the Press of India mostly owned by Hindus are wantonly childish. Hindus will not lose their religion by living in Pakistan, just as they did not lose their religion by staying under Moghul India; similarly Moslems will retain their religion by their existence in Hindustan. The glory of their faith their solidarity is left untouched in Soviet Russia and China; it should be adorable to India. I am confident that these two separate independent units of Moslem-India and Hindu-India in the process of their fullest developments will inevitably lead to the formation of the United States of India akin to that of the United States of America.

Since both the Moslem League and Congress are agreed to attaining freedom after the present war, the interval bestows on us an opportunity for a fundamental change of out-look and of agreeing to the Pakistan Scheme—the only practical method of achieving Hindu-Moslem harmony, without which India cannot be free. It is desirable because it enables us to cease the war of recrimination against each other that usually leads to fratricidal wars and makes our mutual war of liberation possible by active participation in the war with the Allies.

If Moslems containing eight crores of population ranking almost the population in Germany demand for an autonomous state, their proposal is just and sensible. Enforce on them any humiliating measure of subservience affecting their solidarity a blunder of the type of Treaty of Versailles is inflicted on them. To me Moslem-India provides the nucleus of a friendly or hostile Germany in India. Pakistan does not dismember India; rather it harmonises Hindus and Mussalmans on equal

footing and envisages the possibility of purchasing freedom of India from foreign domination at the cheapest price. Any other insidious method of taking Moslem India to Hindu India provokes rancour, jealousy and suspicion amongst these two communities and dashes the hopes of freedom and causes complete dismemberment of India which Hindus and Mohamedans will be equally held responsible.

While Congress demands an autonomous India, can she be true to her political protestation if the legitimate aspirations of Mahomedans are not fulfilled for their own autonomous home and state in India. For this object, a referendum among the Muslim population should be the decisive factor to which Congress and the British Government cannot but surrender. We have tried all expedients including the recent mass contact movement to unite Hindus and Mussalmans for more than fifty years since the birth of Congress and have failed. Truly a great majority of Mahomedan population considers now the Muslim League and not the Congress as their only political organisation. Simply because there are a sprinkling of Mohamedan Congress adherents or some Mussalmans appreciating Congress view points, can we the exponents of true national unity, Hindu unity, Moslem unity and of Swaraj that never imperishes for the sake of a section of Congress followers sacrifice the aspirations of an overwhelming homogeneous majority of Mahomedan population and accept the onus of responsibility for serving the seeds of disintegration among Moslems? The life dedication of Mahatma Gandhi has upto now failed to harmonise the Hindus completely; surely it will pierce his heart to see a similar process of disintegration among Moslems. If to Hindus, Turkey appears to be an ideal Moslem State for emulation, why should they pounce upon the possible creation of such a state by their Moslem brethren in the homeland of India? It is a proud moment in our national life to proclaim let "Moslem India" and "Hindu India" shape their own destinies of freedom. Let the mass be awakened by their respective sacrifices, services and work of Reconstruction. For the liberation of India and resisting any possible future invasion, our greatest peace offensive amidst devastating wars in Europe should be directed forwards the creation of an ideal "Pakistan" and "Hindustan" that may blossom on any day as the United States of India.

The desideratum of India is not merely achieving freedom from Great Britain but its retention with the aid of a new balance of Mohamedan powers which are rapidly growing from Egypt to Afghanistan with

Turkey as its pivot. Naturally, Pakistan can consolidate their alliance for the safety and protection of India. A new Moslem state in India will resuscitate them with a momentum that can dispel with confidence any possible German, Italian and Soviet aggression. To India, a great opportunity has occurred to cultivate everlasting friendship of mutual assistance with the Mahomedan powers of the world to whom Europe is at present looking as a bulwark of support. If the Muslim League is burnt with the aspiration that in India they desire to build up as powerful a Moslem state as Turkey, they should be welcomed *to do so*. *The Indian National Congress* should embrace her as a powerful sister organisation. This does not go against *India*. International situation demands that side by side with a powerful Moslem India, a Hindu India should grow. Then freed from internecine strife and eventually from foreign domination, *Muslim India and Hindu India* may form the basis of the United States of India. Possibly, on the event of dawning of such understanding Mahatma Gandhi says:—If Pakistan is a desirable goal why should it be prevented? *I would do anything to bring harmony*. My life is made up of compromises but there have been compromises that have brought me nearer the goal. Pakistan cannot be worse than foreign domination. I have lived under the latter, though not willingly. If God so desires it, I may have to become a helpless witness to the undoing of my dream. But I do not believe that the Muslims *really* want to dismember India.

Pakistan: An Ideal Or Practical Politics To-day?

By I. H. Qureshi, in the "Eastern Times", 9th August 1940

While Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru was, as usual, glibly telling the world that the Pakistan Scheme was dead and gone, Khawaja Sir Nazim-ud-Din was quietly asserting in the Bengal Assembly that Pakistan alone could give the Province an army of its own if it had set its heart on having one; while Mr. Aney was thundering in the Hindu League inaugural meeting against the Scheme, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan was affirming Baluchistan's faith in it at the Provincial Conference at Quetta and while the Bengal Hindus were clamouring for a Constituent Assembly, the Mysore State Muslim League was passing resolutions in favour of Pakistan.

Now what is the truth with regard to the Muslim League Scheme? Is it dead as Nehru says or alive and kicking? Is it a mirage, a chimera, mere wishful thinking, or practical politics and the only remedy for all our ills? Is the All-India Muslim League itself serious about it or does it merely regard (as some assert) as a counter for bargaining with the Hindus? What does the world think of it? What are its prospects? What should be our attitude towards it? These and similar questions arise instantly in one's mind when coming across diametrically opposite views as mentioned above. Let us think the matter over in some detail.

The Idea of Pakistan, it is well known, originated in the brain of the late Hazrat Allama Iqbal. It at once met with hostile criticism and even ridicule. It was said that the Poet-Philosopher of Islam had, like all other poets, allowed his imagination to run away with his reason. That the idea was no more than a poetical flight and that it had no practical value. It was, however, conveniently forgotten that a man like Iqbal was not a mere poetaster; he was something more than that. He was, in fact, the embodiment of the highest intellect of Indian Islam. He represented in his person the best that was in his nation. He was the mirror of his age. He was the mouth-piece of the highest aspirations of his people. He was a seer and could express the genius of Muslim

India through his magic words. He was not merely a poet or a philosopher but a 'Mujadid' destined to instruct, guide and renovate the Mussalmans of this era.

United Demand

The Pakistan idea, therefore, was not the idea of a single person but the expression of the collective will of a people. Every thinking Muslim in India wanted desperately to find a way out of the darkness and gloom that surrounded him and yearned for light. Only most of them could not grasp at the real remedy, nor yet express what was in their innermost hearts. But the prayer of Muslim India was not in vain. Dr. Iqbal made articulate what was so far struggling for expression.

That his critics were uneasy that such was the case is evident from the fact that they tried to belittle and pour ridicule upon it. But the ideals of a nation cannot be killed by derisive laughter. In one day the Muslims of India had found their goal and they were not going to abandon it because others did not like it. Of course, at first Dr. Mohd. Iqbal's idea was taken up by a few persons only. A person here and there was attracted to it; a person here and there was struck by it. But the idea grew. It grew and grew, and presently the whole Muslim nation was talking of it, discussing it and digesting it. And finally they became unanimous over it.

It was then that the All-India Muslim League took notice of it. The demand for such a course had become practically irresistible. The Pakistan idea is not the brain wave of Dr. Iqbal, much less of Mr. Mohd. Ali Jinnah, as the enemies of Islam assert to-day. It is a calumny to accuse the League President of misleading the Muslims by preaching to them of Pakistan. It is the unanimous voice of Islam in India that demands Pakistan! The League, as the sole political organisation of Muslims, could not but make it the main plank of its programme.

Now about the Muslim League scheme. Many critics point out that the League has done no more than pass a resolution, that it has not even completed the scheme which it had before it, that the League is not serious about it and so forth. One may, however, ask whether this criticism is reasonable, particularly since it comes also from friends of the League. Can such a scheme be framed in a hurry at all? The League has placed an ideal before the Mussalmans

and affirmed its unalterable resolve to stand by it and to pursue it under all circumstances and all costs. That is all that there is to it, for the present. The League has to educate the public with regard to it, propagate its ideal, convince the world that Pakistan alone can bring peace and prosperity to India. That done, the rest will not be difficult.

The League Scheme

Of course, the Indian Mussalmans will have to make tremendous sacrifices for the attainment of Pakistan. The League has to prepare them for that. Therefore, I say to the impatient youth, be not concerned with the details of the scheme. No cut and dried scheme can be formed. Who knows what shape Pakistan will finally take and in what form it will emerge from the turmoil of the years? The League has in a general way indicated the scheme of partitioning India into Hindu and Muslim zones. No more than that. To describe the scheme as the creation of Pakistan and Hindusthan is itself a misnomer.

The final shape of Pakistan will be decided with the consent of the Hindus, or if that is not available, by the right arm of united Muslim India. That final shape is in the womb of the future. Pakistan, let us frankly admit, is not practical politics to-day. Our fellow countrymen are not in a mood for compromise. Let us not, therefore, I say bother about the details of the scheme. Let us not also be despondent that Pakistan is not readily attainable. We must, however, take note of the trend of events in the world to-day. World opinion is becoming practically unanimous that the question of nationalities can only be decided by giving them distinct and separate home-lands. Of course, there is a further tendency, to give them their home-lands and then to combine them into a greater whole, into some sort of federation. Only mixture of nations has proved a failure. At present nations and races are being confused together and the question is regarded as "racial". It is, however, being rapidly recognised that there are no such things as pure races. What are being described as race are in reality nations. Inter-connected is the question of the minorities. Transfer of populations, en masse, is being tried with conspicuous success.

It is reasonable to hope that the process will be applied in the near future on an ever-increasing scale, till it becomes the only way out of the present-day difficulties of the world. Then, it will be time to apply the method in India. Many people are appalled at the thought,

The tremendous upheaval unnerves them and they despair. But that mentality will have to be outwitted. Desperate ills require desperate remedies. To save lives, serious surgical operations are necessary.

A Glorious Ideal

What of the Muslim League Scheme then? As I read it, the All-India Muslim League has placed before the Muslim youth, a great ideal. So far, the Muslims invariably lacked such a goal. Their lives were aimless. Swaraj for them had no attraction. Whereas the Hindus, extremists, moderates and reactionaries, had all one aim and object, the Muslims had none. Hindu terrorists killed and died for Swaraj; Hindu co operators sycophantically worked for it. Congress fought for it, Hindu Mahasabha intrigued for it. Mahatmas, Communists, orthodox, heretics, every Hindu, in short, worked for Swaraj. Muslims, I repeat, had no ideal. Some of them were victims of fear and inertia, others out of sheer boredom turned "nationalists". Some dreamed of Pan-Islamism, some despaired of life itself. Now all this has changed. The League has given a glorious ideal to the Musselmans. We can live for it, work for it, dream of it, and above all, die for it. Die for it, so that a rejuvenated, regenerated, renovated and triumphant Islam may once again raise its head in this land of ours and live an honourable and peaceful life.

Can Hindus and Muslims Ever Become One Nation?

By Wahid Ashraf, in "Star of India" April 1st 1940.

There has lately arisen a great cry from the Hindu Press and platforms that Hindus and Muslims of India are one nation. Let us try and see from the purely scientific point of view if it is possible to unite Hindus and Muslims and make them into one nation. We are given examples of South Africa and Canada where two different nations became united and formed one nation. We are told about Egypt where the Muslims and Christians joined hands and became a nation of Egyptians. Let us see what is the fundamental psychological factor present in India which has kept the Hindus and Muslims apart, as two distinct and separate nations and which must, for ever, continue to be so.

Let us take a plain example which is an everyday experience of the lay man. Everyone knows that it is the impressions and habits formed during childhood that last for life. Some psychologists go so far as to say that it is the first years of a child's life that are important from the point of view of forming good or bad habits. Now, let us take for example the case of a child whose parents have told him from his very infancy day in and day out, keep it dinning in his ears, that he must never touch a book, that if he does so, even by mistake, then no one will love him or speak to him, that he will be turned out of his home and despised by all his friends and relatives, shunned by society and forsaken by God.

Further, he finds that all his relatives and other people whom he knows, scrupulously avoid touching or reading any book and show nothing but antipathy towards any book they may see in some book-stall. If the same process continues during his whole life, what would be the result. Would it be reasonable to expect such a child ever to handle any book or to develop any love for reading. Everyone knows how a child has to be told repeatedly from his earliest days of the value of reading books and of how others have become famous by reading hard; how his interest has to be stimulated by promising to give him sweets

etc., if he learns his lesson. Later, when he enters School and College, he sees his friends winning prizes etc., the distribution of prizes being conducted before a large assembly so that the child may try to imitate in order that he also may have the same honour next time before so many people.

Working of Subconscious Mind

Now let us apply the same psychological principle to India. The Hindu child, from his very infancy, is told "Look here, this person is a Muslim. You must never allow your food or drink to be touched by him, otherwise the food will become contaminated; and if you take such food or drink, you will lose your caste, no one will love or speak to you, you will be turned out of home and be despised by everyone. You will be forsaken by all our Gods and Goddesses, be cursed by them and be punished by their wrath".

Not only that, he finds that all his people observe strict untouchability towards the Muslim. What is the result? His very first impression about a Muslim is not good. This Muslim is to be despised and kept aloof from him. In his subconscious mind, the Muslim's name becomes associated with a strong emotion of fear of losing his caste and thus being turned out of society and also falling a prey to the wrath of his Gods. The very beginning is not promising.

And what is this experience as he grows up. He goes with his father to a Hindu sweet-meat stall. A Muslim is also standing there. When the child's father buys some sweet-meats, the confectioner keeps the "dona" (package) of sweet-meats on his father's hand gently so that no sweet-meat may fall away. But at the same time, he sees that the Muslim who had also come as near the shop as he and his father were, is told by the confectioner to keep away otherwise all his sweet-meats will get contaminated, and the Muslim has to step back and keep at least a foot or so behind the others. The confectioner takes the "dona" of sweets for the Muslim and drops it into his hand from a distance of a foot or so just as you may throw a bone to a dog or give alms to a leper.

The subconscious mind of the child couples the Muslim's name with loathsomeness as his presence is so obnoxious to everyone, and this feeling is added to the emotion of fear of losing his caste, already present in his brain against the Muslim.

But this is not the only instance. He finds that whether he is buying anything eatable in a shop, or whether he is having refreshments in his school or college, whether travelling in a railway compartment or on a steamer, whether drawing water from a well or a municipal pump, he has always to be on the alert lest his food or drink may get contaminated by the touch of this Muslim? At first, he thought that this Muslim could be tolerated, but by degrees due to constant contact, the Muslim is getting on his nerves, causing a feeling of irritation and resentment in his subconscious mind against his presence.

Muslim Hatred and Fear

But this is not all. He goes home and finds the women in a temper. Perhaps a crow or a cat has stolen a piece of beef or bone from the Muslim neighbour's house and dropped it on the rice that was being dried in the courtyard. Left it in the kitchen; or perhaps a hen came flying over the Muslim neighbour's roof, and though it did not actually touch the food, it walked over the "chowka" (ground washed and plastered with clay before feeding), where food was being served and so the whole food had to be thrown. His loathsomeness and fear of losing his caste, increases with consequent rise of resentment and hate against this Muslim who is such a nuisance.

The great festival of "Holi" comes. It is the time of riotous merriment. He throws mud, cowdung, collections from drains, vermilion and coloured-water on every passer-by, till he meets someone who tells him politely but firmly that he is a Muslim and he can not allow such nonsense. He feels disgusted. His subconscious mind registers another black mark against this Muslim.

He is told that Muslims have slaughtered cows. Mother cow! A goddess (!) to be treated thus. Or perhaps, some Muslim, on a hunting trip has shot a "Nil-gai," or finding that his garden is being devastated by monkeys has shot one of them (another god). Instances like this occur in plenty everyday of his life. His subconscious brain feels acutely resentful against such order of things and develops acute hatred towards this Muslim. Why must he be always reminded at every turn that there is this loathsome Muslim present, to contaminate his food and drink, and thus make him lose his caste and become a victim of the wrath of his gods; why is this sacrilegious Muslim in a position to kill his gods; and goddesses, to disturb his peace of mind and mar his happiness. Resentment and hatred against this Muslim increases everyday of his life.

Every psychologist knows that the subconscious mind is a great deceiver.

The subject himself may not know his real feelings and emotions "repressed," in his subconscious mind. He may talk loftily of "nationalism" and "brother Muslim" but the hatred, fear and consequent resentment against his presence are there firmly entrenched in his subconscious mind. It is only when a favourable opportunity occurs that the emotions "repressed" in the subconscious mind assert themselves and the individual, so to say, shows himself in his true colour.

The Reaction

Now let us see what would be the reaction of the subconscious mind, having such an accumulation of hatred and resentment against any class of persons, and such a strong emotion of fear of losing his caste and religion due to his touch and thus becoming a social outcaste as well as a victim of God's wrath. The reaction will depend on one single factor namely, the presence or absence of power. That is the individual will react variously according as his subconscious brain realises that it is powerless or has enough power to do what it likes. In the former case, it will only rest content with manifesting its subconscious hatred in various ways; in the latter case, the "repressed" subconscious fear will also assert itself.

As every psychologist knows fear can make a person do any act of meanness, violence or inhumanity. Hence in this case, his subconscious mind will exert all its power, according to the degree of his intellectual development to change the whole order of things so that this Muslim against whom his hate and resentment have been smouldering for years remains no longer in a position to do the things which he (the Hindu) has hated since his childhood. And how can it best be done? His subconscious mind is aware that he (the Hindu), is always liable to lose his caste if his food, etc., is touched by the Muslim. Then the best solution is to take this sting out of the Muslim. This can only occur if the Muslim could be made to change his faith and become a Hindu. If, however, this is not possible, then the next best thing would be, if the Muslim could be made to leave India.

Conversion or Evacuation

As proof of this, let us point out that when the subconscious mind of the Hindu intelligentsia first realised that the majority party rules in

the Western democracies and became aware of its own power due to the Hindus' numerical superiority, that the "Arya Samaj movement" was started to proselytise Muslims and from the platforms of which Hindus were openly incited to use violence to drive out the Muslims from India. Later, it was as early as 1921-22, when the Hindu masses first became aware of gaining political power under the Montford Scheme that age-long custom of the Hindus was thrown overboard and active proselytisation of the Muslims, on a large scale, "Shuddhi movement" was started; at the same time Hindu-Muslim riots began to occur in every place.

Hence the subconscious mind of the Hindu drives him to make the conditions so hard for the Muslim that the Muslim is either compelled to leave his religion and become a Hindu or to get out of India for good, so that the Hindu may eat, drink and enjoy life as it may please him without always having a subconscious fear of losing his caste and religion every moment of the day.

Now let us take concrete instances of both the subconscious mind realising itself powerless and that knowing it has power. We will take for our example the highest god of the Congress, namely Mr. Gandhi. Some 10 or 12 years ago, he wrote a series of articles in his weekly paper (perhaps it was the "Young India") against the "Foreigner Kabulis," who came to India and did money-lending business and thus took away Indian money. It is well-known that the so-called "Kabulis" really consist mostly of people from the N. W. F. Province and only a few from Afghanistan.

Mr. Gandhi's subconscious mind knew that they were all Muslims and that is why it hated them. But at the same time, it could not show its feeling openly, because the conscious part of Mr. Gandhi wanted to show that he was a "nationalist." Well, what could be easier than to class all these Muslims as "foreigners" and thus start a crusade against them. Needless to say, his cry was taken up by the Hindus till the Frontier Muslims lost their business and their place was taken up by the Punjabi Hindus and Sikhs.

Now let us mark one very important fact. "Foreigner Nepalese" are taken in, in their thousands in the Indian army and paid for, out of the Indian Exchequer; they also flood all Government and commercial offices and durwans, watchmen, etc. How is it that the same nationalist Gandhi has never considered it convenient to utter a word of protest

regarding the usurpation of the legitimate employment of Indians by "Foreigner Nepalese." Because his subconscious brain could not prompt him to say a word against the Nepalese who are Hindus. The affair had nothing to do with "nationalism." It was only a trick of his subconscious mind to deceive him; it was conscious that it had not enough power to show its full amount of hate and do what it liked, so it only rested content with injuring the Muslims in the only way in his power, that is, economically.

Now let us take the examples of the subconscious brain aware of the fact that it has power to do what it likes. Let us, for the sake of clear illustrations, classify the subconscious brain into the three groups. Firstly, a very highly developed and clever intellect like that of Mr. Gandhi. On the other extreme, are the least developed intellects like that of the villagers, labourers, etc., which form the low class. In the middle, lies the grade which is neither very highly developed nor absolutely brutish. As we have seen before, the subconscious mind of the Hindu is aware of his power, will be driven by its ever-present emotion of fear either to compel the Muslim to change his religion and become a Hindu or to drive him out of India. Let us see how all these three classes of the subconscious mind will strive, each in its own way, according to its own degree of intellectual development, towards the consummation of the same common desire.

Fires From Three Sides

Let us first consider Mr. Gandhi. His intellect is developed highly enough to make clever-worded resolutions, draw up clever schemes, etc. In short, he is a man of the pen, not of the "lathi" or sword. He professes "non-violence," hence tries to reach the same common object by "non-violent" methods. His subconscious mind knowing that if Muslim children are deprived of religious training from the very beginning, and are made to believe in the truth of all religions and place Hinduism and Islam on an equal footing, and compelled to believe in and practice Hindu ideas of "ahimsa," etc., and are forced to read books steeped in Hindu culture, etc., then such boys when they grow up will be nothing but Hindus; hence it drives him to evolve the Wardha Scheme of Education, depending on the fact that it can force the Muslims to submit quietly as Hindu Governments are in power in six provinces of India, at the same time professing loudly that religious training does not promote "national" feeling and is the cause of all communal trouble.

It is the same thing as the "Shuddhi" movement of the earlier days, but since the conscious part of Mr. Gandhi's brain calls itself a "nationalist," the subconscious part must hide its real feelings under the cloak of "nationalism."

On the other extreme are the Hindu masses. Their intellect is not much developed. They do not know how to wield the pen cleverly. They only know how to use the "lathi". Hence when they realise that they are in power in six provinces of India, their subconscious mind prompts them to use the "lathi" unhesitatingly in the furtherance of the one common aim, namely forcing the Muslims to change their religion or to get out of India. Hence, we find from undisputed Government records that Hindu-Muslim clashes become at least twenty times more frequent than in the days previous to the assumption of office by the Congress.

Innumerable instances occur in every province of the stoppage of the legitimate religious and civil rights of the Muslims like forcible stoppage of "Azan" (call to prayer), of cow-slaughter during Baqrid or on other days, burning and looting of Muslim houses and villages, destruction of their life and property, demolition of mosques and other sacred places, assault on women and children, forcible installation of idols in Imambaras, forcible throwing of mud, coloured water, etc., on Muslims during Holi, abusing Muslims who may happen to pass through Hindu localities, boycott of Muslims and such other instances too numerous to relate. Their intellect is not developed enough for them to hide their real feelings under the garb of "nationalism."

In the middle comes the class known as the intelligentsia. They form the Ministers, their Secretaries, Members of Legislatures, of Municipal and District Boards, Government officials, etc. Their brain is neither as highly developed as that of Mr. Gandhi nor so low as that of the masses. Hence their methods also are not as subtle as that of Mr. Gandhi nor so open and brutish as that of masses. Hence they carry out the schemes of Mr. Gandhi on the one hand, realising subconsciously that it is a step in the right direction towards the "non-violent" conversion of the Muslims to Hinduism and on the other hand, they, having all the police, etc., in their power, whitewash and deny the oppressions and persecutions perpetrated by Hindu masses on Muslims; they even go so far as to strive themselves towards the same common aim by using sections of Criminal Procedure Code to stop cow-sacrifice,

to stop Muslims from doing certain things on the ground that there is no custom, yet allowing Hindus to go against custom, doing everything in their power to kill the Urdu language as it also contains words from Persian and Arabic, which reminds them of the Muslims and thus excites their emotions of hatred, resentment and loathsomeness; issuing circulars to primary schools for all children to worship the idol of Saraswati and the photograph of Mr. Gandhi and not allowing any exemption in case of Muslims, doing injustice to Muslims in the matter of Government services, appointment to local bodies, etc.

Even Congressite Muslims cannot get sufficient representation as delegates to sessions of Congress nor on Municipal or District Board Committees, etc. In fact, it is because they are subconsciously aware of their guilt that they have been so vociferous against the idea of a Royal Commission, and it is for the same reason that they hastily drew up some trumped-up counter-charges against the Muslim Ministries to puzzle the British mind.

India is India

From the above, it is clear that there is a fundamental difference between Egypt and India. In Egypt, the Muslims and Christians could at least dine at the same table, none of them was afraid of losing caste and religion at the touch of the other and thus incurring the wrath of God, hence he did not resent the presence of the other in that country.

Here, as can be seen from the above, the condition is entirely the reverse. There is a basic psychological difference between the two. The subconscious mind of the Hindu will always remain acutely resentful and antipathic towards the presence of the Muslim in India. The larger the number of the Hindu masses that become conscious of having gained power, for example, by the Constituent Assembly method, the more will their subconscious hatred, resentment and fear show itself against the Muslims towards the achievement of the common aim of forcing the Muslim to change his faith or get out of India, that is the so-called political advancement of India will bring greater misery and ruin for the Muslims in its train, in the present condition.

It may be said that many Hindus who have come in contact with Western civilisation do not observe untouchability with Muslims. But even in their case, they must always remain under the influence of mass psychology and preserve to a very great extent the feelings of resentment,

hatred and loathsomeness instilled in their brain in their early age, as long their friends, relatives and the society in which they move, observes untouchability. Those who say that Hindu and Muslims could be combined to form one nation are shutting their eyes to scientific truths and deceiving themselves and the world.

Solution in Partition

What, under the circumstances, is the best practical solution of the problem. The political advancement of India must go on, and power must come to Indians; but what, in the light of Science, is the best way for the safety of the Muslim nation.

Is it possible to treat the subconscious mind of the individual Hindu? Impossible. No power could undertake a psycho-analysis and psychotherapy of 230 million people.

Secondly, is it possible to cultivate ideas of truth "nationalism" in the Hindu mind? It must take a long time. If all the Hindus leave untouchability to-day, then the children born after such a date, when they are grown up and are at the helm of office in the Congress and leaders of public opinion, can be expected to have a nationalistic outlook. It must take atleast 50 years, hence not practicable.

Thirdly, division of India into Hindu India and Muslim India. This is the only scientific and logical solution providing permanent peace between Hindus and Muslims. All the protestations of the Hindus against this idea of the division of India are nothing but of the nature of, what psychologists term "reaction-formation"; that is, the subconscious mind having a strong "repressed" emotion of fear of losing his caste, etc., due to the presence of the Muslim, wants to conceal that fear by putting up an appearance of over-bold behaviour and trying to show that it is not afraid of them and is against the idea of their separation. It would hurt its vanity to admit even to itself that it is afraid of them. But from the purely scientific and psychological point of view, the Hindu's lifelong desire which is "repressed" in his subconscious mind can only be fulfilled in this way, so that he may eat, drink and enjoy life anywhere and everywhere in his state without being troubled by a constant subconscious fear of losing his caste and religion and become a victim of the wrath of his Gods, and he can heave a sigh of relief and feel happy. Then and then only can the Muslim be safe from oppressions and persecutions.

Way to India's Salvation

A leading article in the "Assam Herald" 13th April 1940

There is a regular campaign of deliberate misrepresentation by the Hindus and a few Muslim dupes of theirs about the real and true import and implication of the Muslim League's Policy for the future political development of India. Till the time the League has publicly, unequivocally and in very plain language declared its political goal, the Hindus in one chorus were running it down as a reactionary body without any aim or ideal before it. But now when the goal has been defined in plain terms unlike the Congress's goal of nebulous Purna Swaraj, which momentous decision has filled the hearts of 90 million Muslims with unbounded joy and gratitude to Mr. Jinnah for the bold lead he has given them to relieve themselves from the perpetual nightmare of the sure prospect of living forever in subjugation of the Hindu majority in India; the same set of designing people in the cloak of so-called nationalism are raising a hue and cry, which only betrays their evil mentality and ulterior motive more than anything had even done before. They have now seen that their nefarious political game is up. The League has, under the guidance of one who is second to none among 400 millions in the country in patriotism but who is head and shoulder above all in facing facts as they are, frustrated their diabolical plan by the resolve it has made not to allow the Hindu majority in India under the guise of Indian nationalism to establish Hindu Raj over the entire subcontinent and keep crushing the 90 million Muslims with the harrow of democracy which would be such handy implement of the Hindu imperialists. The League's goal is to redeem the 90 million Muslims from the position of suppressed, repressed and degenerated community or at best from the position of second-fiddlers in the affairs of the Motherland. The Hindu's one aim now is to misrepresent and misinterpret the League's wise scheme and make it appear as disastrous and ruinous to the country. They pretend not to know that their way leads to sure rack and ruin of India and that the League's way is the best possible way to attain real freedom for all in the country in the shortest possible time.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, the saviour of Indian Muslims, has appealed to the sensible section of the Hindus, who are not still imbued with the

idea of establishing Hindu Raj in India, to give serious and earnest consideration to the League's Policy wherein they will find the sure salvation of India. The League has suggested nothing impossible, but the only possible way left open for India to proceed on after 400 years practical experience of the actual state of affairs in this common Motherland of both the Hindus and Muslims. The League's plan is to establish autonomous and sovereign Muslim and Hindu States in areas where they respectively form the majority. The plan provides adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards for all minorities statutorily to be embodied in the constitutions of the proposed States. The League's scheme gives the Hindus in their own States and in the Muslim States the same rights and privileges which the Muslims want to have in their States and in the Hindu States. If ever India as a whole is to enjoy freedom and have salvation from foreign domination, the League's scheme provides the only solution of this ever baffling problem. The freedom thus obtained by India will mean freedom for all and will be lasting and peaceful. The Congress plan and the British scheme for India's future are fraught with perpetual trouble in the land. All concerned in the future of India must realise that the Muslims are determined to have their legitimate share in the governance of the common country and are determined also to shape their future destiny according to their own ideals.

From the point of view of the Britishers, there nothing in the League's plan which is unfeasible. Cannot two dominions in India become members of the British commonwealth of Nations? Will not such two dominions as suggested by the League in this inharmonious vast sub-continent be more useful partners of the commonwealth of Nations than one Indian dominion perpetually in internal trouble? From the point of view of the Hindus also, there is nothing but good for the people as well as the country inherent in the League's scheme. Do the Hindus, inspite of their numerical preponderance, think that they will be able to rule India peacefully by the means of democratic government? Have they not seen enough that neither they nor the Muslims can become religiously non-descript somebodies for political purposes? Will they not learn from the lessons of experience anything? Was it not Mr. Jinnah himself, who from years and years in his political career tried to make people eschew religion from politics? Are not the Hindus responsible for compelling him and many others to revise their political notions? Who in the world can deny that the Muslim attitude in India is entirely defensive which the Hindu aggressive attitude has made them adopt.

There is no question of exchange of population involved as such in the scheme of the League. The question is whether 90 million Muslims are to be a perpetual minority subjugated by a Hindu majority Raj or whether, at least 60 millions of them residing in areas where they form majority should have an opportunity to develop their spiritual, cultural, economic and political life in accordance with their own genius and shape their own future destiny? It is for the realisation of this very important fact that the Muslim minorities in Hindu India readily agreed to the League proposal, when the two dominions will begin to function. Of course there may be a slow movement of population from one dominion to the other which ultimately will be for the good of both.

Mr. Gandhi has again aired some of his sentimental views in the columns of 'Harijan' about Hindu-Muslim unity. We have had enough of such sanctimonious humbug and it has not and will complicate more and more the solution of India's political problem. If India's agony is to be shortened, the political problem must be solved in a bold and practical way. Mr. Gandhi must know by now that his beguiling words will not shape India's future nor will they ever entrap the 90 million Muslims in perpetual serfdom. The Muslims have already made their final decision and no amount of political sophistry even by a master of cunningness and wiliness like Mr. Gandhi, will make them go back on their decision. They are convinced that in their decision lies the salvation of 400 million human beings and the peace and tranquillity in a sub-continent of India's vastness. The Muslims do not want to be told today by Mr. Gandhi that the vast majority of them in India are converts to Islam or are decerdants of converts. All the world over, they are, one and all, either decendants of converts or are converts to Islam. So are all the Christians, Jews, Budhists and for that matter, even so are all Hindus. God when He created mankind, did not give them one religion. He only gave them intelligence and reason. Everyone who belongs to one faith or another is a convert to that faith.

Mr. Gandhi admits that Mr. Jinnah has raised a fundamental issue in the decision of the League and quotes Mr. Jinnah's cogent reasons *in extenso* for his coming to that decision, but leaves it by saying that it is a baffling 'problem. He suggests no other solution of the vital problem before the country, but expresses, as has been his wont his pious wish that Hindu-Muslim unity is a very desirable necessity for India's political future. It has been his life's mission, but the world is now convinced that it will end in not fulfilling it. Mr. Jinnah is not

a shallow sentimentalist. He is a sound and deep statesman, so he does not float about in the surface of things in the vain hope of some divine call to prompt him to action, but goes to the very bottom of the problem and seeks its solutions in a thoroughly practical way. He does not wait for human nature to change. Therefore, it may be trifle baffling for impractical Mr. Gandhi to understand practical Mr. Jinnah, but India cannot go on allowing her vitals to be eaten to the very end by the deadly canker of communal disharmony, because Mr. Gandhi's pious wishes alone will not cure the dying patient. How cunning and how wily this proud Hindu Mahatma is? He has the audacity to interpret the true message of Islam and warn 90 million Muslims not to carve their own path in their own Islamic way for their future progress and prosperity. He must know that 90 million Muslims cannot wait in the pious hope of the Hindu Mahatma someday receiving the inner call for the fulfilment of his life's pious mission.

In conclusion, we would urge all Muslims to explain to all and sundry the true import and implication of the League's policy in order to counteract the nefarious propaganda carried on by the Congress and the Hindu Press against the League's scheme. The mission of the League is honest and straightforward and based on truth and actualities of the situation and it is bound to appeal to all who have India's good in their hearts.

Concept of a Separate Muslim State

By K. S. Abdur Rahman Khan, M.L.A., Berar,
in The 'Eastern Times', April 26, 1940

Mad fury, unbridled passions, sarcasm and ridicule, and veiled and open threats characterise the criticism levelled against the decision of the Muslim League taken at Lahore. There is again the same deplorable tendency to ignore realities and shut out reason and fairplay from the realm of appreciation of the position and aspirations of the Muslims. It is their first reaction. Let us hope the second one will be more sober and the result of mature and cool consideration. But, let the critics remember that though hard words may not break bones, they do break hearts beyond the possibility of repairs and amends.

After the long period of suspense and speculation when everybody asked what the league demanded, it has come out with a concrete, definite, and most reasonable scheme and placed its card on the table. The Congress goal of complete independence, on the other hand, is still a dream of the Shegaon mystic who alone in his inscrutable way can discern the substance from shadow and none knows what this complete independence means.

The Prelude

In spite of our long association of past one thousand years with India, our countrymen still suffer from a lack of appreciation of our history, and traditions, our psychology, the structure and the fabric of our society and our beliefs and aspirations. At times, it appears that we are being deliberately misunderstood and misrepresented. For the last century and a half, the Imperial Power and the Hindus seem to have conspired to bring about annihilation of the Muslims in India and be the co-parceners in the exploits. It was a joint and co-operative concern with both and the advantages were reciprocal. Even the last vestiges of Muslim power, culture and influence were destroyed for one or the other reason and the Hindu never failed to offer voluntary services to fill up the gap. The relief of a change of masters was no small gain to them. The Muslims who were the rulers of the land a century and a half ago, are no better than paupers today.

Nationalism Born of Hatred

The Muslims never treated India as a land for exploitation and richly contributed to its wealth, progress and prosperity. India was "Heaven on Earth". But since the advent of British rule in India, they came to be treated as aliens and their rule of centuries is considered to have been a reign of terror, of bloodshed, of cow-slaughter, of destruction of temples, of forced conversion and of loot and plunder of the country. The country is portrayed to have been ruled by Timur, the tyrant, Alauddin, the debauchee, Tughlak, the mad, Babar, the drunkard, Humayoon, the opium-taker, Jahangir, the pleasure-lover, Akbar the infidel, Shahjahan, the murderer of his own kith and kin, and Aurangzeb the terror of Hindus. This is the compliment paid to us for our services to India and Indians which are unparalleled in the annals of the country.

India of pre-British days knew no communal problem and history cannot provide us with a single instance when wars were waged on communal or religious basis during the time when the Muslims ruled India. But Nationalism entered through the door of communal hatred in India and was nourished with the sentiments of ill-will and revenge towards the Muslims.

Nationalism in India is a borrowed ideology from the West. A plant of the Frigid Zone is trying to spread roots and branches on the hard rock of the Tropics. It is the Eighth Wonder of the World. No wonder the plant did not prosper and yielded no fruits. On the other hand, it threatens to ruin both the grafts and the main tree. This cross-breed child of Nationalism is the adopted son of British Imperialism and is now trying to oust the legitimate heirs from their rightful possessions.

Hollowness of Theory of Nationalism

Nationalism is the intellectual luxury of the Hindu intelligentsia. It is not the result of natural evolution nor the product of genuine local germination. Nationalism presupposes a Nation, a people, a country, common history, traditions and beliefs, common interests and aspirations. It is based on the fundamental principles of human equality, liberty and citizenship. Apart from Muslims, do the various sections of Hindus satisfy the requirements of Nationhood? India never thought in terms of nationalism during pre-British days. It was never a country and even today it is not a country. The *Arya-varta* did not extend beyond the boundaries of the Punjab, the *Land of five Rivers* and the home of the

Vedas. Bharat-varsha never crossed the barriers of the Vindhias, Magadha Desha was not India. During the Muslim period, it was divided into Ind, Sind an Dakhan. And what is India? Is it a country? No. It is a sub-continent. Is India a nation? It is a congeries of nations. What is common between the Punjab and Bengal, Rajputana and Maharashtra, Dravid-Desha and Arya-varta, Indian States, and British India, Hindus and Muslims except the common administrative link of the British Government? India is not the name of a country or a nation but of the territory under British Rule, another name for British military occupation. One-third of the territory, viz. Indian India, does not subscribe to Indian nationalism and the rest is divided even under the Government of India Act of 1935 into autonomous provinces.

Indian nationalism is thus without its basic foundation of universal, social, religious, political and economical equality and liberty. The greatest barrier to the achievement of the cherished goal of nationalism is the structure of Hindu society which has created permanent and graded zones of superiority and inferiority. No Hindu is born an equal of other Hindus nor has he any chance in his life to attain the status of majority.

The Congress, which demands the democratising of 600 States and asks the Muslims to merge their identity in the Indian Nationalism should first set its own house in order and dissolve Hindu Society to make India safe for democracy. Without this, Nationalism means only Brahmin Theocracy and Swaraj, Brahmin-cum-Bania Raj.

Growth and Development of Congress Nationalism

Like Nationalism, the very word "Congress" is a foreign nomenclature. The Congress began by petitions and reaffirming its allegiance to the British Crown, from year to year. It started from a share in the services under the Crown to a share in local self-government. The next step was self-government interpreted, as responsible government. It was followed by agitation for Home Rule meaning thereby Dominion Status. It was in 1920 that Dominion Status was replaced by Swaraj. Till now, it was a plain political fight against foreign domination. But with the introduction of the mystical ideal of Swaraj and with the advent of diarchy, the seeds of communal misgivings were sown. Swaraj again came down to the level of Dominion Status in the Nehru Report and although the Congress made a high flight in the plain o

complete independence, the impression that the Congress was out for Hindu Raj could not be removed from the Muslim mind. The introduction of provincial autonomy and the idea of a Federal Government have brought the issue to the surface and the Congress is making its last efforts for capturing the centre to install Hindu majority into power.

Since the advent of British rule in India, Muslims are being driven from every position of vantage. When they laid down the reins of power, they were not so low in the scale of nations as they are today. They lost their high place in the services. The Babu replaced the Muslims. The Indianisation of services cost them too much, in the sense that not only their proportion in services was brought down but their language, culture, law and rules of administration, were also given the go-by. Their Jagirs, Inams and religious endowments were ruined. Their arts and crafts ceased to exist. The National Congress had not the charity to shed a tear in sympathy on the fate of Muslim who *were* the custodians of the national wealth. The Congress grew under the patronising care of the British Imperialism and what was taken out from the hands of the Muslims was given to the 2% Brahmins in the name of Indian Nationalism.

Sir Syed's Message

God bless Sir Syed who came as a messenger of hope for the illfated Muslims. The Britisher had treated them as enemies and the Hindus nourished revengeful attitude towards them. Both conjointly forged a literature which created an inferior and criminal feeling in the Muslims. The situation in Europe and the middle East also required this attitude to be strengthened in India. What was left for Muslims to fall back upon in India? They had lost their 6 century rule. They were disarmed. The instinct of self-preservation brought them together and the Aligarh Movement created "self-consciousness" in them. Otherwise, they would have been reckoned as a "Lost Caste". They organised for the safeguard of their culture, religion, language and above all their individuality as a political entity.

When India was granted that first instalment of reforms, they only asked for their recognition as a distinct nationality and demanded separate electorate. This principle was further accepted by all parties at Lucknow, especially the Congress. The Muslims had to pay the greatest price for their recognition as a nation. They gained well-deserved

in some provinces without any material gain but gave up the right of the majority rule in Bengal and Punjab. Diarchy revealed that democracy in India cannot be saved from the evil influence of communalism and is transferred not to any political party but to a religious group.

During the following revision, the Muslims formulated their 14 demands, having despaired of the Congress to produce a commonly agreed constitution for India. Is there any single Muslim who attended the Round Table Conference who opposed the demand for the attainment of India to the full status of Independence? But the Congress severely opposed all the demands of the Muslims. Although the Nehru Report was drawn in the Ravi, it still haunted the brains of Congressmen. Whatever the Muslims got by way of majority provinces, reforms to the Frontier Province, separation of Sind, separate electorates, is all due to the efforts of the Muslim League, despite the opposition of Congress. At the same time the League is an equal partner in the struggle for India's freedom. The goal of the League is not selfish. It is full independence for India, and not independence for Hindus and dependence and slavery for the rest. The Congress built their house on the ruins of the Muslims. It based its nationalism on the hatred of Muslims, trained it in the nursery of British Imperialism and always captured all points of vantage for the Hindus in the name of Nationalism. The Muslim League always fought for India's freedom and freedom for all.

Communal Role of Congress Democracy

Diarchy was less harmful so far as the communal question is concerned than the provincial autonomy of 1935. The presence of the third party had always kept the majority in its senses. But as soon as elections under provincial autonomy were over, a cry was raised that there were only two parties in India, the British Government and the Congress. The slogan completely eliminated the Muslims from the political field and expunged them from the map of India. As a matter of fact, so far as the working of the provincial constitution was concerned there were really two parties—the Muslims and the Hindus. The advantage gained at Lucknow during 1916 did not lose its grip from the minds of the Congress. They still thought that Muslims as a whole were a minority in India. This was not a fact, The Government of India said that while Muslims were a minority in some provinces, the Hindus were

also a minority in some. The concessions and safeguards to minorities were reciprocal and not one-sided. The Muslim League always willingly acceded to Hindu minority in Muslim-majority provinces what it demanded for the Muslims in other parts of India. But it is the ideology of the Congress which takes its stand on the permanent Hindu majority basis. The Congress, in any scheme of constitution for India, has never given up the idea that Hindus should remain in majority and rule India. Why should the Muslims alone be treated as minority and not the Hindus? According to the Congress phraseology, minority and Muslims have become synonymous. Why not call Hindus a minority because they are a minority in the N.W.F.P., Baluchistan, Sind, the Punjab, Bengal and Kashmir? The Congress, by constantly treating the Muslims as a minority, has admitted the fact that India is not a nation. The Congress forgets that the Muslims alone are not the recipient of concessions, safeguards, protections and guarantees. They are granted to the Hindu minority also in the same proportion and rather in a more effective and real way in Muslim zones.

Muslims Under Congress Raj

The fact that by India the Congress contemplates only Hindu India, by nation, it means only the Hindu nation and by democracy, it desires the rule of the Hindu majority was demonstrably and conclusively proved during two and a half years' rule of the Congress in 7 provinces. At the very outset, the Muslims were discounted as a force to be reckoned in Indian politics. The four-anna membership rule was applied to ensure the complete dominance of Hindu majority. The advent of Hindu Raj was heralded by demonstrations, by hoisting the Congress flag, by singing "Bande Mataram," and propagating the myth that only the Congress organisation, the Congress party and Congress ideals had a right to live. Others should accept the life of subordination, neglect and shame or commit suicide. It may have carried some reason with it, had it been a fight against British Imperialism and people had been asked to offer sacrifices. But where it was the question of working the constitution, actual administration and showing one's worth for self-rule, the Congress not only proved itself to be a communal body, but a tyrant, a despot and an autocrat. It opened the doors of the Congress wide open to Hindus to consolidate their position and sold the power, position, jobs and positions of vantage to Hindus in return for four-anna membership. The swelling of the Congress rolls during recent years

is not due to the conversion of the people to the Congress cult or the popularity of the Congress ideals but mainly to the lust for power. The Congress embarked on a programme deliberately setting it in a totality which would have an intense appeal to the Hindu psychology, only to hold out for the Hindus an immense opportunity for a Hindu renaissance. The worship of the Congress flag and Mr. Gandhi's image, the Poo of Sarasvati, the installation of the images of Durga and Sarasvati in schools, the Att of Congress leaders, the organisation of village uplift and village industries, the deification of the Charkha, the spread of Sanskritised Hindi, the introduction of the Wardha and Vidya Mandir schemes, the official recognition of the title of "Mahatma" for Mr. Gandhi and the declaration of the Gandhi Jayanti and the Tilak Anniversary as State holidays are a few items of the national programme of the Congress.

Then look to the philosophy which guides all this programme. The Gandhi cult was adopted as a State religion. The educational schemes were based on it. The Charkha, Ahimsa, Bhajnavali, Satyagraha, Uprans, silence-day, Brahmacharya and Harjan Uddhar became the basic principles of this new religion and the political movement in India. Gandhi means Congress and his cult means the Congress programme. The two are inseparable from each other.

Persecution of Muslims

This cult was enforced not by non-violent means but by the use of all available brute force, the application of Bengal Regulations, resort to firms, intimidation and coercion not excluding. Hindu activities got State patronage while Muslims suffered that fate of a neglected minority.

But neglect is a lesser crime than deliberate persecution, oppression and suppression. The history of the atrocities committed on Muslims in Congress provinces is simply heart-rending and can only be compared to that of the post-Mutiny days, and even worse. The Britishers were foreigners but the Congress claims to be national. Everybody felt an inner urge to revert to the pre-Reform days rather than be the partners in provincial autonomy. What is the good of the Swaraj which was inaugurated and worked out with the aid of British bayonets? The Congress would have been true to itself had it dispensed with the protecting arm of the British and raised its Empire on the good-will and willing co-operation of the people. On the other hand, the

Congress assumed autocratic and dictatorial airs and treated the opposition with contempt and revengeful sentiments. The Congress followed in the footsteps of Hitlerism by erecting its Swaraj on the ruins of the so-called minorities. Congress rule has proved a nightmare and one is wondering whether it was the influence of a Saint or a Satan.

Is India One Nation?

By Jamil-ud-Din Ahmad, M.A., Muslim University, Aligarh.

Giving his impressions of the working of provincial autonomy in India gained during his recent tour of the country, Lt.-Col. Muirhead, Under-Secretary of State for India, made some significant remarks which call for more than a passing attention. Lt.-Col. Muirhead has tried to understand the play of the forces let loose by the introduction of the New Constitution and the nature of the conflict which is becoming more and more marked all over the country. But we are afraid he has slipped into same erroneous impression which any foreign observer not conversant with the under-currents of the body-politic of this country is apt to gather. It has come to the notice of the Under-Secretary of State for India that the tendency on the part of both those in power and those in opposition, was to consider that what the position now, is, would be the position always. He further deplores our failure to appreciate an essential feature of democratic Government namely, the majority and minority parties are never permanent, the change of chances bring fluctuation in the fortunes of parties often unexpectedly and in a short space of time. Hence he proceeds to conclude that any party's opposition to Federation from the apprehension that it would, at the outset, put power into the hands of somebody other than itself, is untenable. Of course, if the first thesis of the Under-Secretary of State about the formation of parties were true of Indian conditions, then no one could seriously entertain the argument that the Federal scheme as embodied in the Government of India Act of 1935 should not be introduced merely because it would instal in power some party other than one's own. The hint is clearly towards the Muslims, for it is they who feel that the establishment of this particular type of Federation would perpetuate the rule of a permanent communal Hindu majority at the centre which would even nullify whatever little power the Muslims wield in a few provinces. But one may well ask, is the proposition propounded by Lt.-Col. Muirhead really as simple as it appears to be? A slight inkling into the answer is to be found in his own words when he proceeds to remark that the "opinion most strongly expressed throughout the length and breadth of India was the antagonism between the Hindus and Muslims—an antagonism, which, I am led to believe, is much on the increase. This

antagonism seemed to go far beyond the grounds of mere religious feelings."

Let us see what after all is the main concept on which the democratic parliamentary system of Government is based. It is postulated on the idea of a single homogenous and compact nationality. Does this preliminary condition obtain in India? Even a casual observer can see for himself that the existence of a single nationality in India is a wish, a presumption at best a figure of speech, but not a fact. Hence the difficulty in reconciling the facts on the ground of the false presumption. An Englishman speaking from his experience of the working of democracy in his own country and in other democratic countries of the West is bewildered to find why there should be such bitter and ruthless conflict between those in office and those in opposition. In other democratic countries, he finds that the fluctuation of majority into minority and vice versa is a thing of common occurrence. It is a game of chance, of skill, of strategy. Why then, he very naturally asks the question, should the oppositions in India be obsessed by the fact that they were in opposition and the other party was in power. It is because he has perhaps not been able to look beneath the surface and grasp the fact that the line of cleavage in this country is the presence of two distinct and mutually exclusive nationalities—the one eternally homogenous but lacking effective organisation, the other loose and ponderous but fast becoming organized and acquiring some sort of a self-consciousness.

The formation of parties also proceeds on the ground of this vital difference of nationalities—the Hindu and the Muslim—no matter what the labels of the parties may be, for the majority can always afford to assume a non-communal label. The parties are not based on mere religious differences as some are apt to imagine. It is a deeper conflict—a clash of two separate national entities, one striving to dominate and if possible to absorb the other and the other struggling to save itself from annihilation, to maintain itself intact. In the German Press, it was recently stated that the trouble in India was really a *Kultur Kampf*—a cultural struggle; one culture was struggling to acquire supremacy over the other. It is really surprising that what the Englishman is not able to perceive despite his long association with India, the German is quick to detect with his penetrating insight even from a distance. On the assumption that India is one nation, the situation as it stands really becomes inexplicable. Take India as two fundamentally different nations and the situation becomes obvious and the problem, easy of solution.

The question now is why this tendency on the part of both those in office and those in opposition to assume that they would always remain in the same position. The answer is not far to seek. The party in power is a different nation and has the ambition to dominate the other nation of 90 million people. These 90 million people—the Muslims—are not concentrated in one locality or region. for then the problem would not have bristled with such difficulties. They are scattered far and wide all over the country, such that in seven provinces they are small minorities, in two they are slightly in majority and in two they hold substantial majorities. This being the case, it would be a misnomer to call the Muslims a minority in the sense in which the term is used in modern political parlance. Are the Muslims then a separate Nation?

The 90 million Muslims, through their authoritative and representative organisation, the All-India Muslim League, form the main block of opposition in the various provinces ruled by ministries which owe allegiance to an avowedly Hindu body—the Congress party. It is needless to recapitulate how the Congress party which is dominated by a Brahmin oligarchy in the flush of power declared war on the Muslim League the moment it was assured of majorities in the various provincial Legislatures and refused to co-operate with the Muslim League party on any terms. The Congress with all its power and pelf launched upon a special campaign of Muslim Mass Contact, which, had it not been thwarted in time by the Muslim League, would have meant the virtual extinction of the Muslims as a political and cultural entity in the country. But that contingency has been largely averted and the Muslims today are engaged in a desperate struggle for self-preservation. The Muslims have always fought for the separate electorate. The natural corollary of separate electorate for Muslims is, that only a Muslim body has the right to seek the suffrage of Muslims and claim the right, if it receives the mandate of the Muslim nationality, to represent it in the legislature, in the cabinet, in fact in all representative institutions established under the constitution. But this principle was completely ignored by the party in power, which, as over a year's experience has shown, is exclusively Hindu in spirit and action. Any individual Muslim who was prepared to betray his party overnight and sign the Congress pledge was appointed and passed off as a Muslim minister or a Muslim parliamentary secretary and, of course, as a patriot and a nationalist. It is a sad reflection on British policy that even provincial Governors have been party to this flagrant violation of the letter and spirit of the constitution and the

instrument of instructions in so far as the protection of the legitimate rights of the Muslims are concerned. This state of affairs coupled with the aggressively anti-Muslim attitude of the Congress Ministries as disclosed by most of their measures and policies alarmed the Muslims and awakened in them the consciousness of the deep gulf of national cleavage, which in spite of all their efforts to patch it up, separated them from the Hindu majority.

The Muslims who ruled this country for not less than eight hundred years, realize that they have all the requisite characteristics of a Nation, a nation fundamentally different from all other nations. They cannot willingly sacrifice their separate nationality at the altar of Hindu nationalism. Their idea of nationality is not based on identity of race or community of economic interest or attachment to the geographical boundaries of a particular territory; it rests on a definite life-outlook and a social polity. Islam is not a mere religion among religions, a scheme of salvation in the life hereafter or a matter of private relationship between the individual and his God. Islam is a social polity and a state-idea whose purposes cannot be fulfilled except through a corporate and well-ordered society. It is on this basis that the Muslims take their stand as a distinct political and social unit. They are deeply conscious of their separate cultural characteristics which have developed from their adherence to an all-embracing creed and certain moral principles governing all aspects of life. It is this separate cultural characteristics which entitle them to claim for themselves the status of a separate nationality. They claim no more for themselves than the right of self-determination as a separate nationality. It is a truism that no nationality can exist as a distinct cultural entity unless it is possessed of political power. Politics is power. This has been proved not once but several times since the Great War and the Treaty of Versailles. Goodwill, love, and toleration can only be demonstrated when a party has come into power. How attempts are made to annihilate a minority by subtle methods under the garb of democracy in spite of all constitutional guarantees, is instanced by Czechoslovakia; the Sudeten-Germans would certainly have been swept away if it had not been for the strong backing of a great power like Germany.

In India, the Muslims and Hindus, with their historical traditions and their future aspirations, are two different nationalities. The most scientific view of nationality is *that a People, when it develops, out of the consciousness of a Historical past and a future destiny, the will to form*

a state becomes a nation. All the elements which comprise the historical and cultural traditions and the future aspirations of a nation are entirely different from each other in the case of the Muslims and Hindus. Each of them has a different 'world view' and a different attitude towards life. The Muslim's outlook on life is determined exclusively by his religion which embraces all aspects of life: while the Hindu outlook on life is shaped by certain 'discreet' ideas which are absolutely incompatible with Islamic principles. To the Muslim, this world is a unity and his role in this world is self-affirmation and self-assertion with a view to establishing the supremacy of moral values derived from the oneness and greatness of God; the Hindu looks upon this world as 'Maya', illusion, and to his mind the highest form of life is either insensate hoarding of material goods or complete self-abnegation. Since there is want of belief in future destiny for the self, they devote themselves entirely to acquiring and coveting worldly goods and possessions believing that this world is all in all, or in the alternative they renounce the world altogether believing that it is 'Maya' or illusion. Besides the religious beliefs, the sacred personalities and the religious personalities which the Muslims and Hindus revere are all different. Their conception of morality and moral laws are opposed to each other. The Muslim conception of morality is based on the fundamental idea of responsibility for all actions. The idea of 'necessity' inherent in Hindu thought leaves no place for virtue because the present life is necessarily determined by the previous existence according to law of Karma. Their legal systems and personal laws have nothing in common with each other, special marriage, divorce and inheritance laws. The Muslim law permits widow remarriage, the Hindu law prohibits it. The Muslim divorce law takes into consideration human weakness; the Hindu law does not allow divorce under any circumstances. Under Muslim law, all descendants, wife, son, daughter and others get equitable shares; under the Hindu law, the eldest son alone inherits to the exclusion of all others. The most marked diversity between the Muslims and Hindus is to be seen in their social systems. The Hindu society is based on the rigid system of Varnashram, the four main castes with thousands of sub-castes. The castes are rigid and immutable and even in this twentieth century of enlightenment and progress, the world sees the strange sight of eight crores of people, the original inhabitants of this country, branded as 'untouchables' and condemned to a life of perpetual serfdom and treated worse than animals. The Muslims form a fraternity irrespective of family, wealth or rank. Their sentiments of brotherhood, the like of which the world has yet to find,

springs from their belief in one God, one Prophet, one Book of Guidance in all aspects of life. The modern man of the West would be astonished to hear that men of different castes in the Hindu society cannot even eat together at the same table, leave alone the Muslims who are looked upon as Mlechas-impure. The exclusive and separatist attitude of Hindus prevents any social intercourse between the Muslims and Hindus developing. Similarly the Muslims and Hindus follow entirely different scales of values. The sense of values is directly traceable to their respective world-views. The Muslim values money only in so far as it subserves the material needs of life which are always subjects to moral ends. To the Hindu, the acquiring and hoarding of money is the main value in life. The Hindu regards the cow as sacred and worships it as a deity. They also use cow dung and urine as sacred materials for purposes of purification. They insist on cow-protection even at the sacrifice of human lives and spend vast sums of money over it. The Muslims value the cow only as a means in the service of human comfort. The question of cow-protection often leads to riots. This difference in the sense of values is noticeable in all aspects of life.

The chief argument for the Western brand of nationalism is that economic questions know no distinction of Muslim and Hindu. This is again a superficial and false view to take. The economic principles and even economic needs and interests of Muslims and Hindus are different. The various trades, professions, callings and services have become divided on the lines of Muslims and Hindus and even among Hindus there are such divisions on the basis of castes and sub-castes. The requirements of Muslims in respect of housing, food, clothing, ceremonies, religious rites, modes of living and entertainment, social and personal obligations are distinct from those of the Hindus. The large majority of Muslims consists of peasants, labourers, petty traders or men in services and some liberal professions. Muslims are heavily in debt. The Hindus command all positions of power and pelf, trade, commerce, industry and high posts. They are also bankers and moneylenders. Naturally the economic interests of Hindus and Muslims conflict at every point. The idea of human equality is foreign to the Hindu Mind. Not only does the difference of caste tend to deny the equality of man but the Hindu joint family system and law of inheritance promote inequalities and capitalism. For example, when a Hindu dies, his eldest son inherits the whole property and rest of the family receive bare maintenance allowance and are compelled to live together as one family. The Muslim law of inheritance is based on the principle of Islamic brother-hood and consequently every

member of the family is able to lend a self-respecting existence. Accumulation of wealth in a single hand is made impossible. As regards economic principles, Islam strictly prohibits and giving and g takin interest, hoarding, monopoly, speculation, cornering, and all other money-grabbing tactics which lead to capitalism, the pelf and luxury of a few and the misery of vast numbers of the common people; the Hindu society takes no exception to these practices. In fact, all the economic bourses, the bloated usurers, industrial magnates and capitalists in the country are all Hindus. Thus there is a definite breach in the economic interests and principles of Hindus and Muslims.

History plays a very important part in the growth of nations. It is from their historical past and their illustrious forbears that nations derive inspiration for building up a great future. The Muslims have a different historical heritage, different heroes and different memories of defeats and victories from the Hindus. Already the Hindus have begun to revive and idolise the memory of those very personages in Indian history who were notorious for their hatred and enmity towards Muslims, for instance Shivaji and Rana Pratap.

Another controversial question which has come to the fore is the language problem. Till a few years ago, Urdu was considered the common language of different nationalities of the country. Urdu came into existence as a result of the mutual intercourse of Muslims and Hindus and the interaction of different languages, Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit and Turkish in the days of Moghul kings. At one time, Hindus also cooperated in promoting the growth of Urdu language and literature. The Muslims would fain share the Urdu language with the Hindus. But ever since the reorientation in the political policy of the Hindus leading to the designs of Hindu Raj, Urdu has been given the go-by and attempts are being made to force Sanskritized Hindi, which most Hindus themselves do not understand, in the whole country. Sometimes the term Hindustani is used to conceal the real intention of propagating Hindi. Sometime back, attempts were made to change the name of Urdu itself into Hindustani, so that the next step of obliterating Urdu altogether and installing Hindi in its place may become easier. But the Muslims saw through the ruse, and resisted the attempt. The Congress leaders specially Mr. Gandhi, the real moving spirit of the Congress, make no secret of their avowed intention to make Sanskritized Hindi the language of the country. It is quite in keeping with the dreams of Hindu Raj.

Therefore the Muslims naturally apprehend that the eclipse of Urdu would mean a great blow to their separate national identity. For, language is a powerful factor in the building up of a nationality; it is the real repository of a people's historical heritage, traditions and contribution to world civilization; it is the mirror of a people's mind, its thought, its culture and aspirations. Thus the question of protection of Urdu has become part of the Muslim national problem.

Intimately allied with the question of language is the educational problem. Before the advent of provincial autonomy, the educational policy was entirely in the hands of the British. That policy closely followed the lines laid down by Lord Macaulay—namely the Indians should be given English education in such a way that in course of time a generation of Indians may grow up which though Indian in colour and race would be thoroughly Westernised in thought and outlook and would serve to carry on the British administrative machinery. The policy did succeed to a great extent. But since the passing of a limited amount of power into the hands of the Hindu majority, attempts are being made to remould the educational system, particularly in the primary stages, to subserve the central aim of Hindu Raj. To that end, a scheme of primary education, known as the Wardha scheme of education, has been evolved under the guiding genius of Mr. Gandhi. The scheme has a definite political motive behind it—namely the obliteration of Muslim culture by subtle methods and preparation of a generation which will cease to be Muslim in thought, character and action. The scheme is based on two basic ideas—the doctrine of ahimsa (non-defence) and the ideal of territorial nationalism. Both cut at the root of the fundamental beliefs of the Muslims. They reject the doctrine of ahimsa (non-defence) for their religion enjoins on them the duty to fight in the cause of righteousness and against evil when and wherever necessary. The insistence on the doctrine of ahimsa is only meant to root out from the Muslim youths their martial spirit and traditions. Even the question of food is taken into consideration; the scheme contemplates making common food which means vegetarian food compulsory for all children. Muslims are a virile race being meat-eaters; it is sought to rob them of their virility by addicting their younger generation to vegetarian food. Similarly the principle of territorial nationalism militates against the Muslim view of nationalism which is based on a philosophy of society and outlook on life rather than allegiance to a territorial boundary. The emphasis laid on nationalism in the scheme

subjected to systematic persecution, tyranny and oppression in Congress governed provinces is a long and painful story. In certain parts of the country, unspeakable atrocities have been perpetrated on poor and defenceless Muslims but the Congress governments of the localities took no steps to bring the offenders to book. (A full and graphic account of injustices and tyrannies inflicted on Muslims in Congress governed provinces is to be found in the Pirpur Report published by the All-India Muslim League). In many remote villages, the Muslims live in constant dread of their lives and honour. They dare not perform cow-sacrifice or even call Azan (call to prayer). Civil liberties for which Congressmen used to cry their throats hoarse before they came into office are not meant for Muslims. Their meetings are spied upon, their freedom to hold meetings, to take out processions or perform cow-sacrifice as a religious rite, is often circumscribed by the promulgation of orders under Section 144 Cr. P. C. The exercise of civil and religious rights by Muslims has been made conditional on 'custom' and 'law and order'. And who is to judge whether 'custom' and the exigencies of 'law and order' allow the exercise of civil and religious rights? It is the Congressmen and their subordinate officials. The morale and prestige of district officials have been impaired, for they have been directed to act in consultation with local Congressmen. The officials therefore cannot act with independence and impartiality. The Congressmen and even Hindu officials are behaving as if Hindu Raj has already been established. Even the dispensation of justice in law-courts is interfered with. There have been many cases recently of Congressmen trying to influence descisions of the law-courts and of Congress ministries overriding the decisions of High Courts. The Urdu press is being gagged, for it is the only press which dares to criticize the Congress governments. Judiciary has not been separated from executive, consequently impartial administration of justice is not assured.

Most departments and services of the government are almost entirely manned and officered by Hindus. Of course, this a legacy of pre-Reform days. But the position has become worse since the assumption of office by the Congress. The demand of Muslims for adequate representation in services and in promotion to higher posts is ignored. Muslims are being gradually squeezed out of key positions. Muslim schools, maktabas and charitable institutions receive no encouragement from Congress Governments. The policy on the other hand is to exterminate them gradually.

Even economic measures are so devised and manipulated as to leave the Muslims financially. Muslims are sedulously excluded from the benefits of social welfare schemes. This is the doing of even the so-called socialists. Heavy taxes are levied on such trades as are in the hands of Muslims. The execution of all beneficent schemes is in the hands of Hindu officials who see to it that the Muslims get no share in the benefits. Congressmen feel no scruple of shame in opposing the Tenancy Bill of the Bengal government because most of the landlords, there, are Hindus, and the peasants, Muslims. But in the U. P. they insist on a ill-conceived and crooked tenancy law to persecute the landlords, no matter whether it would do real good to peasants or not, for the Muslims have some share in land-ownership. In the Punjab, the Congress vehemently opposed the Agrarian Bills and went to the extent of calling them Black Bills, for they would benefit the agricultural classes and other people suffering under heavy burden of debts, because the money-grasping usurers are Hindus. But in Bihar, where Hindu Landlords are strong, the Congress readily entered into a compromise with them over the tenancy question. Moreover, the Congress does not move a finger to touch the money-lenders, the middle-men in various trades and the millowners who are the real blood-suckers of the poor masses, for they are all Hindus. While so much anxiety is displayed to promote the interests of the peasants, practically nothing is done to improve the lot of the labourers. The reason is obvious. Peasants are far larger in number and it is to their strength and support that the Congress owes its position; the labourers are fewer in number and work under Hindu capitalists. Instances can be multiplied but it would be so irksome. It is clear that there is no uniformity of principle in the Congress policy which is only determined by the consideration of Hindu domination.

It is on the ground of these vital national differences that parties in India have grown up. Circumstanced as they are, it is but natural that the Muslims should find themselves in a perpetual minority in the majority of provinces under the democratic parliamentary system of Government. The position would have been a little easier for at least some time if the Hindu majority had taken a large view of the situation and entered into some sort of understanding with the Muslim minority. But all hopes of a rapprochement were dashed to the ground when the Congress representing the Hindus refused to acknowledge the status of the All-India Muslim League as the authoritative and representative organisation of the Muslims of India. The Congress arrogates to itse

the right to represent the whole of India and denies the existence of anything like a distinct Muslim nationality. Naturally this state of affairs is inconceivable for the British people, for the ideal before them is Nation on a geographical and economic basis. All other values and interests are minor issues as compared with this central idea. The mode of approach to the National-Political Ideal is common. Differences arise only with regard to those values which are the private concerns of the individual. These interests are served sometimes by joining or voting for one political party, sometimes by organizing parties on other lines.

What is therefore, the solution of the Indian Problem?

Parliamentary democracy as it is being tried in the provinces cannot work with success, much less the proposed federation. The present state of unrelenting tension and strife may lead to civil war which it behoves every one of us to avoid as far as we can. The present constitution under which all decisions are made by the counting of noses has placed power into the hands of a communal Hindu Majority which cannot be altered by any constitutional means. Its exclusive and domineering policy is a source of constant irritation and alarm to the minority which feels that under the present order of things which is backed by British power; it has no chance of obtaining any share in political power. Without effective political power, the Muslims would cease to exist as a separate national and cultural unit. In sheer desperation, the Muslims may in course of time be driven to precipitate action which would prove disastrous to all concerned. The only way out of the impasse therefore seems to be to divide India into two federations—federation of Muslim majority provinces and states and another of Hindu majority provinces and states. The relations between the two federations should be regulated by a voluntary treaty of alliance as between two sovereign states. There should also be provision for mutual exchange of population and reciprocal safeguards for the minorities living in each federation. The creation of two such federations is quite feasible and would be in the best interests of both Muslims and Hindus.

It appears that the federal scheme embodied in the Government of India Act of 1935 is again going to be thrown into the melting pot. The situation is pregnant with far-reaching possibilities. The Muslims occupy a strategic position in the fluid and fast changing situation. Is it not time that they came out with a positive demand for a separate Muslim federation?

Viceroy's Statement

Dated the 8th August 1940

"India's anxiety, at this moment of critical importance, in the world struggle against tyranny and aggression, to contribute to the full to the common cause, and to the triumph of our common ideals, is manifest. She has already made a mighty contribution. She is anxious to make a greater contribution still.

"His Majesty's Government are deeply concerned that that unity of national purpose in India, which would enable her to do so, should be achieved at as early a moment as possible. They feel that some further statement of their intentions may help to promote that unity. In that hope they have authorised me to make the present statement.

"Last October His Majesty's Government again made it clear that Dominion Status was their objective of India. They added that they were ready to authorise the expansion of the Governor-General's Council to include a certain number of representatives of political parties, and they proposed the establishment of a consultative Committee.

"In order to facilitate harmonious co-operation, it was obvious that some measure of agreement in the provinces, between the major parties, was a desirable pre-requisite to their joint collaboration at the Centre. Such an agreement was unfortunately not reached, and, in the circumstances, no progress was then possible.

"During the earlier part of this year, I continued my efforts to bring the political parties together. In these last few weeks I again entered into conversations with prominent political personages in British India, and the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, the results of which have been reported to His Majesty's Government.

"His Majesty's Government have seen also the resolutions passed by the Congress Working Committee, the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha.

"It is clear that the earlier differences which had prevented the achievement of national unity remain unbridged. Deeply as His

Majesty's Government regret this, they do not feel that they should any longer, because of these differences, postpone the expansion of the Governor-General's Council, and the establishment of a body which will more closely associate Indian public opinion with the conduct of the war by the Central Government.

"They have authorised me accordingly to invite a certain number of representative Indians to join my Executive Council. They have authorised me further, to establish a War Advisory Council which would contain representatives of the Indian states, and of other interests in the national life of India as a whole.

"The conversations which have taken place, and the resolutions of the bodies which I have just mentioned, make it clear, however, that there is still, in certain quarters, doubt as to the intentions of His Majesty's Government for the constitutional future of India, and that there is doubt, too, as to whether the position of the minorities, whether political or religious, is sufficiently safeguarded in relation to any constitutional change, by the assurance already given.

"There are two main points which have emerged. On those two points His Majesty's Government now desire me to make their position clear.

"The first is as to the position of Minorities, in relation to any future constitutional scheme. It has already been made clear that my declaration of last October does not exclude the examination of any part, either of the Act of 1935, or of the policy and plans on which it is based.

"His Majesty's Government's concern, that full weight should be given to the views of the minorities in any revision, has also been brought out. That remains the position of His Majesty's Government. It goes without saying that they could not contemplate the transfer of their present responsibilities, for the peace and welfare of India, to any system of Government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life.

"Nor could they be parties to the coercion of such elements into submission to such a Government.

"The second point of general interest is the machinery for building, within the British Commonwealth of Nations, a new constitutional

scheme, when the time comes. There has been very strong insistence that the framing of that scheme should be primarily the responsibility of Indians themselves, and should originate from Indian conceptions of the social, economic and political structure of Indian life.

"His Majesty's Government are in sympathy with that desire, and wish to see it given the fullest practical expression, subject to the due fulfilment of the obligations, with Great Britain's long connection with India has imposed upon her, and for which His Majesty's Government cannot divest themselves of the responsibility

"It is clear that a moment when the Commonwealth is engaged in struggle for existence is not one in which fundamental constitutional issues can be decisively resolved, but His Majesty's Government authorise me to declare that they will most readily assent to the setting up, after the conclusion of the war, with the least possible delay, of a body, representative of the principle elements in India's national life, in order to devise the framework of the new constitution, and they will lend every aid in their power to hasten the decision on all relevant matters to the utmost degree

"Meanwhile they will welcome and promote, in any way possible, every sincere and practical step that may be taken, by representative Indians themselves, to reach a basis of friendly agreement, firstly on the form which the post-war representative body should take, secondly upon the principles and outlines of the constitution itself

"They trust, however, that for the period of the war (with the Central Government reconstituted and strengthened in the manner I have described and with the help of the War Advisory Council), all parties, communities and interests will combine and co-operate in making a notable Indian contribution to the victory of the world cause which is at stake.

"Moreover, they hope that in this process, new bonds of union and understanding will emerge and thus pave the way towards the attainment by India of that free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth which remains the proclaimed and accepted goal of the Imperial Crown and of the British Parliament.

Mr. Amery, on India's Political Goal

Reported in India on August, 16, 1940

Mr. Amery said: "I hope I may claim the indulgence of the House this evening, not only because this is the first time after a long interval of years that I have spoken at this box, but also because of the importance and difficulty of the subject with which I have to deal. To keep one's balance steadily along a knife-edge of ice in the high Alps is a much easier task than treading one's way without stumbling or offence through the intricate pitfall-strewn maze of the present Indian situation.

"So I trust that members, before they enter upon a discussion of the important statement issued by the Viceroy last week, will bear patiently with me while I endeavour to say something about the background of the political controversy and deadlock which has led up to that statement. For, I think it is only in that way that the full significance and purport of Lord Linlithgow's initiative and of the decision of His Majesty's Government in this matter can be rightly understood.

"Five years have passed since the passage of the Government of India Act. That measure, the fruit of a long series of commissions and conferences as well as many stirring debates, represented a remarkable effort of constructive statesmanship on the part of this House. So far as the provincial part of the Act is concerned, it presently came into operation and is still being worked successfully in four out of the eleven provinces.

Difficulties Involved

"It is temporarily suspended in the other seven, that has not been due to any failure on the part of the provincial authorities to carry out the responsibilities entrusted to them or to any conflict between them and the provincial Governor or the Central Government, but to purely extraneous causes of which I shall have something to say in a moment.

"Whether the Central provisions of the Act might have worked equally well if they could have been put into operation promptly, may be

an open question. What is certain is that the delays involved, inevitable as they may have been, have afforded occasion for the development of a volume of adverse criticism and opposition, in the face of which their enforcement could no longer serve the purpose for which they were originally devised. What is, however, essential to keep in mind is that this opposition comes from different quarters and, indeed, is based on opposite reasons.

"The constitutional deadlock in India is not so much between His Majesty's Government and a consentient Indian opposition as between the main elements in India's own national life. It can therefore, only be re-solved not by the relatively easy method of a bilateral agreement between His Majesty's Government and representatives of India, but by the much more difficult method of a multilateral agreement, in which His Majesty's Government is only one of the parties concerned.

"There is first of all the Indian National Congress. Its leaders have repudiated the Act of 1935 in its federal aspect as a denial both of India's right to immediate complete independence and of the principles of democracy. It is in pursuance of that repudiation, because India's consent was not formally invited before she was committed to war, that they called out the Congress ministries in the provinces. Their demand has been that India's independence should be recognised forthwith and that the Indians should devise their own constitution in a constituent assembly elected by universal adult suffrage over all India, including territories of the Indian Princes.

"In the last few weeks, they have declared their willingness in the meantime to join in the war effort through a national government commanding the confidence of the elected Assembly. The Congress leaders are men inspired by an ardent national patriotism. They have built up a remarkable organisation, far the most efficient political machine in India, of which they are justly proud. They have striven to make that organisation national and all-embracing.

"If only they had succeeded, if the Congress could, in fact, speak as it professes to speak for all the main elements in India's national life, then, however advanced their demands, our problem would have been in many respects far easier than it is today.

"It is true that they are numerically the largest single party in British India. But their claim, in virtue of that fact, to speak for India

is utterly denied by very important elements in India's complex national life. These other elements assert their right to be regarded, not as mere numerical minorities but as separate constituent factors in any future Indian policy, entitled to be treated as such, in any discussions for the shaping of India's future constitution.

Muslims' Position

"The foremost among these elements, stands the great Muslim community, of ninety million strong and constituting a majority both in North-Western and North-Eastern India, but scattered as a minority over the whole sub-continent. In religious and social outlook, in historic tradition and culture, the difference between them and their Hindu fellow-countrymen goes as deep, if not deeper, than any similar difference in Europe. That need not and does not, prevent pleasant social intercourse or fruitful political co-operation. It has not, in fact, prevented individual Muslims taking an active part in the work of the Congress Party.

"But, as a body, the Muslims have stood aloof. Their quarrel with the scheme of the existing Act is not that it fails to give that element majority rule which the Congress asks for, but that it would give too great powers to a Hindu majority at the Centre. They will have nothing to do with a constitution framed by a constituent assembly elected by a majority vote in geographical constituencies. They claim the right in any constitutional discussions to be regarded as an entity and are determined only to accept a constitution whose actual structure will secure their position as an entity against the operations of a mere numerical majority.

"The same, though in a lesser degree perhaps, applies to the great body of what are known as the Scheduled Castes, who feel, in spite of Mr. Gandhi's earnest endeavours on their behalf, that as a community they stand outside the main body of Hindu community which is represented by the Congress.

Princes' Objections

"The Indian Princes again, with territories covering a third of all India and including nearly a quarter of its population, constitute another entity or group of entities which refuses to be assimilated to the simple democratic formula propounded by the Congress. They object to the existing scheme as interfering too greatly with their existing territories.

depends the preservation of all her ideals and the fulfilment of all her aspirations.

"It is in this atmosphere that the Viceroy felt that the moment had come for an initiative which should at the same time enlist all elements of political leadership in India behind her war effort, and also make, at any rate, a beginning in breaking down the existing political deadlock and so pave the way towards an early achievement of that goal of free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth which, to quote the concluding words of his statement, is the proclaimed and accepted goal of the Imperial Crown and of the British Parliament.

Representative Members

"The immediate offer contained in the Viceroy's statement is that of an expansion of his Executive Council as Governor-General so as to include in it leading members of all political parties as well as the establishment of a wider War Advisory Council on an all-India basis, associating with the conduct of the war representative of the Indian States and of other interests in the national life of India as a whole.

"The enlarged Executive Council will, of course, under the existing constitution, still be responsible to the Governor-General and cannot be responsible in the strict constitutional sense to the legislature. The Congress have asked that a provisional national government should be constituted at the Centre, which though formed as a transitory measure should be such as to command the confidence of all elected elements in the Central Legislature.

"In inviting a certain number of representative Indians to join his Council, the Viceroy will naturally take appropriate steps to ensure that the new members do in fact reflect opinion of the parties from which they are chosen. If, however, the Congress claim is that the members of the Viceroy's Council should be dependent on the support of elected members of the legislature, it is in fact a demand for changing the whole basis of the Indian Government in the middle of the war.

Whole Issue Raised Again

"More than that, if the House has followed the analysis I have attempted to give of the attitude of the different elements in India to the constitutional problem, it will realise that.

"It is a demand which really raised the whole unresolved constitutional issue and pre-judges it in the sense favoured by the Congress and rejected by the minorities.

"There can be no agreement on a Government responsible to the legislature until there is agreement upon the nature of the legislature and upon the whole structure of the constitution.

"The Viceroy's offer, on the other hand, presents to the Indian leaders an opportunity of taking an effective and important part in the government of India and bringing their influence to bear on the conduct of the war without prejudice to their several positions. They will have committed themselves to nothing except working together in the present emergency for the safety and good of India and for the common cause in which they all believed.

"In spite of the discouraging attitude shown in Congress quarters, I still hope that they will all be willing to take their part. If that should, unfortunately, not prove to be the case, Lord Linlithgow will, of course, still go ahead prepared to work with those who will work with him and with each other.

No Inferior Position In Commonwealth

"The Viceroy's immediate offer does not, however, stand by itself. His initiative have been concerned, as I said just now, not only with India's fuller participation in the actual present war effort, but also with paving the way towards a speedier attainment of the goal at which we are aiming.

"May I say a word about that goal, Dominion Status, as it has commonly been described, or as I prefer to describe it, a free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth. It is not, as is so often implied when Dominion Status is contrasted with full independence, an inferior or dependent status. The status in the Commonwealth of the Dominions—or of this country for that matter, for our status is the same though not perhaps our stature—is indeed superior to that of nations that perforce stand alone.

"How many so-called independent nations are really free to live their own lives as they will, even when they are not directly overrun or dismembered by more powerful neighbours? We of the British Com-

monwealth enjoy something more. We enjoy the security, the prosperity, the friendship and, I would add, the enhanced dignity in the eyes of the world which come to each of us as a result of our free and equal association.

"There is no higher status in the world than that, and that is the status which we have declared to be the goal of our policy in India.

"Our declarations, however, have apparently still led in certain quarters doubt as to the sincerity of our purpose and have raised, not unnaturally, the question both of the time when and the methods by which we mean to fulfil them. It is to that question that the Viceroy, with the full approval of His Majesty's Government, has now given an answer which marks, I think, a notable step forward on the path to the accepted goal.

"May I quote here the most significant passage in the Viceroy's statement:—'There has been very strong insistence that the framing of that scheme'—that is the new constitutional scheme for India—'should be primarily the responsibility of the Indians themselves and should originate from Indian conceptions of the social, economic and political structure of Indian life. His Majesty's Government are in sympathy with that desire and wish to see it given the fullest practical expression, subject to the due fulfilment of the obligations which Great Britain's long connection with India has imposed on her and for which His Majesty's Government cannot divest themselves of responsibility'.

"The recognition of these obligations is not an impairment of status but only a recognition of facts, historic or geographical, which differentiate the present position of India from that of other Dominions. As the late Lord Balfour pointed out in his remarkable exposition of the nature of British Commonwealth relations in the constitutional report of the Imperial Conference of 1926, 'the principles of equality and similarity appropriate to status do not universally extend to function', and he instanced, in particular, the functions of defence and foreign policy.

A Difference

"It is in respect of these, for example, that the position of India, both in virtue of her historic, military organisation and of her geographical position, differs from that of the Dominions. But the difference that arises from these and similar obligations is one of degree and not of

kind. For in the case of every Dominion, there has always been some measure of adjustment, formal or informal, to British obligations. Subject to these matters, the desire of His Majesty's Government is that the new Constitution of India should be devised by the Indians for themselves and should—may I quote the words again—'originate from Indian conceptions of the social, economic and political structure of Indian life.'

"That task is to be undertaken with the least possible delay after the war by a body representative of the principal elements in India's national life. That means a body constituted in agreement between the representatives of the elements. It does not mean a body set up on lines which may commend themselves to one particular element, however influential, but may be regarded as wholly unacceptable to the minority elements.

"His Majesty's Government have made it clear that they could not contemplate the transfer of their present responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any system of government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life. In this matter, too, there is no departure from the principles which have governed the coming into existence of every Dominion constitution. In every case in the Dominions, there has been antecedent agreement, not only between the geographical units but also between the main racial elements—English and French in Canada, British and Boer in South Africa—both as to the method of framing the constitution and as to the constitution itself.

"Agreement, consent, is indeed the foundation of all free government, of all true democracy. Decision by majority is not so much of the essence of democracy as a practical convenience, which presupposes for its proper working an antecedent general consent to the constitution itself. It has, indeed, in most federal constitutions been limited in various ways in order to safeguard the separate interests of the federating elements.

"To describe the need for such agreement as a veto on constitutional progress is, I think, to do an injustice to the patriotism and sense of responsibility of those concerned. Agreement means not veto by any elements but compromise, and willingness to compromise in India, as elsewhere, is an essential test of the sense of responsibility on which free government must be based.

"On the other hand, within the limitations imposed by the necessity of securing agreement, the whole constitutional field is open to re-examination. It may, indeed, prove to be the case that it is by entirely novel departures from the existing scheme, whether in the relation of the Centre to the provinces or to the States or in the methods of election and representation, that an agreement can be reached which is unattainable within the framework of the existing Act, based as it is on the traditions of India's administrative past and on our customary British constitutional conceptions.

Date of Reforms

"So much for the question of method. There is the question no less insistently asked as to the date. Here the answer given by the statement is also clear. The decisive resolution of these great constitutional issues, the actual setting up of a new system of government, cannot come at a moment when we are all engaged in a desperate struggle for existence.

"How soon it can come after the war is essentially in India's own hands. The experience of every Dominion has shown that these fundamental issues are not lightly or speedily settled. What I have told the House of the complexity and difficulty of India's peculiar problems does not suggest that her experience in this respect will be essentially different from that of others.

"There is always an immense amount of preliminary discussion, inquiry and negotiation which has to be got through before the real decisive meetings take place. There is absolutely no reason why any of this indispensable preliminary work should wait for the end of the war. The more completely and thoroughly it is done now, the agreement reached now as to the form of the post-war representative body, as to the methods and procedure by which we should arrive at its conclusions and as to the principles and outlines of the constitution itself, the more speedily can everything be settled after the war is over.

"So far as His Majesty's Government are concerned, they have offered to welcome and promote in any way possible such preliminary friendly discussion and investigation and have equally promised to lend every aid in their power to hasten decisions on all relevant matters when it comes to the subsequent task of settling

They can do no more. The responsibility for securing a speedy as well as satisfactory result rests upon the Indians themselves.

"I submit that the Viceroy's initiative represents a sincere effort on our part to make such contribution as we can towards the smooth and speedy attainment of the desired goal. Others must also make their contribution. No one element or party can hope to get all that it wants, or at least to get all at once. If we agree upon the end, let us all work for it with sympathy, understanding, patience and goodwill towards each other. That at any rate is the spirit in which His Majesty's Government are resolved to persevere in the carrying out of the policy which they have now defined. So far, we in this country are concerned, we have every reason to be proud of what we have contributed in the past to the history and to the life of India.

"But I, at any rate, believe with Lord Macaulay that the proudest day of our history will be the day when we see India joining, a free and willing partner, in the brotherhood of the British peoples. As for India she will give, I know, her effective answer to tyranny and aggression in the field of war. But she can give an even more conclusive answer in the field of constructive statesmanship.

"In a world threatened by all the evil forces of hatred and destruction, of partisan and racial intolerance, there could be no more hopeful portent, no more assured omen of the ultimate victory of our cause, than that the leaders of India's millions should in peaceful agreement resolve not only their own perplexing discords but also afford yet one further example within our British Commonwealth of the power of goodwill to reconcile freedom and unity and through our Commonwealth to bridge the agelong gulf between Europe and Asia. Then indeed could we say with justice that the dawn of a better day for the world was heralded in the East."

classes of Muslims. They believe in the equality of all before law and recognise no distinction between one Muslim and another on the basis of birth and blood.

Social Gathering

Such indeed is the divergence in the social systems of the two communities that on occasions of common social gathering when those differences are expected to be minimised, they present themselves in more striking forms. A Muslim attending a Hindu public dinner or party will miss badly, things suited to his taste and will find most of the dishes prepared according to Hindu practice. In a railway journey, when opportunities of contact are of daily occurrence, the question of food and drink still divides the Hindu from the Muslim. In cities, in building a new house or taking an old one on rent, a Hindu will more readily see the company of a Hindu neighbour. In fact in every walk of life, a Muslim is more welcome to a Muslim and a Hindu to a Hindu.

Real Solution of the Problem

In view of this conflict of interest in the political, economic and social field, besides that of religion it is not an easy task to reconcile the interests of a Muslim to those of Hindu nationalism which aims at the possession of supreme control of all political power of India. Protection of religion, language and culture is out of the question where a minority can be easily converted into a permanent majority by a readjustment of geographical frontiers.

Undoubtedly, the Muslims in Hindu-majority provinces are a real minority and have no other alternative but to accept Congress assurances of good will for their future but they are not bound by any such consideration to leave their ultimate political and economic interests in provinces where they are a majority, to the mercy of a hostile Hindu majority at the Centre.

Muslim Opposition to Congress Nationalism

The question is often asked, if Muslim interests are safeguarded in their minority provinces and are already protected in their majority provinces by their own preponderant numerical strength, why do they not accept the lead of the Congress and its ideal of a common Indian nationality? The answer to this question requires a real understanding

of what is meant by independence. When a nation aspires for independence, it seeks to have full power to decide all questions affecting the multifarious activities of a modern State. It does not simply want self-government as understood in a limited sense, but supreme control of all national organs of the State, including defence, foreign affairs, finance, communications, etc.

Majority Rule at Centre

Now it is a simple conclusion that if the Muslim Provinces remain part of a future Indian National State, they will undoubtedly enjoy a limited kind of provincial autonomy but the final voice in the army, navy, air force and other important central subjects will be that of a Central Cabinet responsible to a Central Legislature which will be dominated by a Hindu Majority. Unless the Muslims are assured of some special advantages which they will obtain if they remain content with limited provincial autonomy in their majority provinces, there is no other consideration which can persuade or compel them to accept the majority rule at the centre.

In fact, the Muslims are convinced that by forming part of single composite nation in India, they will be losers all round and will finally sink to the position of a helpless minority which will be shorn of all final power in the supreme executive affairs of the Centre. It is for the Congress to convince the Muslims how they are going to benefit by a Hindu domination at the Centre.

Arguments Against Separation

The arguments so far advanced against the proposed scheme of separation have been unconvincing. It is said that the proposed Muslim States in the North-West and North-East will be cut off from one another by Hindu India and will be in permanent danger of opposition from the latter due to its immense power in men and resources. Secondly, the Muslim States will not be in a position to find money to defend their frontiers and will break down under military pressure from the Frontier tribes or countries beyond the Frontier. Thirdly, the Muslim States will not be able to develop themselves industrially as Hindu capital will not find an easy access in them. Finally the non-Muslim minorities will be a source of constant trouble to Muslim States